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THE EUROPEAN RECONQUEST OF NORTH AFRICA¹

THE region we commonly call North Africa, using this designation in its narrowest sense, comprises the territories of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli. In almost every respect it is clearly separated from the rest of the huge continent of which it forms a part. Geographically, it is cut off from the Sudan by the Sahara, a greater obstacle to communication than the broadest ocean. Ethnographically, it is the home of a Mediterranean people and not of the typical African race, the negro, who is represented here only by some scattered descendants of slaves, brought in, like those of our own South, against their wills, and less numerous in proportion to the rest of the population than is the case in the United States. Historically, Africa Minor, as some call it, has been in its economic and political relations, in its culture, and in its civilization, at times a part of Asia, at times a part of Europe, but never to more than a slight extent a real portion of its own continent. Its influence has indeed penetrated to the south, but in return it has received little more than the products of a scarce, though long-continued, caravan trade, mostly in human flesh, taking months to crawl painfully across the scorched wastes of the desert. Even with the valley of the Nile it is connected by sea rather than by land, for east of Tunis the Sahara advances to the very waters of the Mediterranean, forming in spite of its scattered oases a barrier which has been crossed by but few armies and by only one considerable migration² in the last three thousand and more years.

The chief structural features of Africa Minor are simple. The territory consists of a long strip of land bounded on the north by

¹ Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December, 1911.

² That of two large Arab tribes, the Hilal and the Solaim, in the eleventh century.

the Mediterranean, on the south by the Sahara, on the east by the Gulf of Tripoli and the Libyan Desert, on the west by the Atlantic. From the Straits of Gibraltar almost to the Gulf of Carthage the mountains continually skirt the sea, rising sharply from it in their western portion, the Rif, but gradually becoming lower and less severe as they proceed eastward. They are intersected by river valleys which form lands suitable for cultivation and settlement and also offer the means, but not always easy means, of communication with the interior. Ordinarily a sharp ascent leads from the coast to the high inland plateaus. The plateaus are terminated on the south by another range of mountains from which there is a sudden descent to the desert. North Africa thus consists of three main regions—first, the littoral or Tell with its slopes and valleys, numerous disconnected sea-ports, a sedentary population and south European climate and products; second, the plateaus, with greater extremes of temperature and scanty rainfall, a region suitable to pastoral rather than to agricultural life, with a population as yet largely nomadic; and third, the torrid Sahara, a waste of stone and sand, stretching indefinitely to the southward, for the most part uninhabitable, but dotted here and there with oases. This threefold division is most plainly marked in Algeria. In Tunis the mountains are lower, the transitions are less sudden, and there is sea on two sides. Accordingly the country is more open and accessible, and is in natural, easy communication with Sicily and Italy. Tripoli is nineteen-twentieths desert except in the peninsula of Cyrenàica. In Morocco the wild mountains of the Rif that have long proved an effective barrier against the advance of Spain are nevertheless, nothing but an offshoot. The true ranges of the Atlas here run to the southwest till they meet the ocean, enclosing between them and the Rif a territory which looks not to the Mediterranean but to the Atlantic. This explains why Morocco has not been pre-eminently a Mediterranean state. Only a part of it was ever occupied by the Romans, and the whole proved beyond reach of the Turks. Morocco until lately has had little to do with any European country outside of the Spanish peninsula, and in the hour of its weakness in the sixteenth century it was threatened by Portugal rather than by Castile. On the other hand it has more than once drawn fresh strength from the desert tribes dwelling to the south of it,³ and for a moment its dominion was acknowledged on the banks of the Niger.⁴

The recorded history of North Africa begins with its coloniza-

³ The Almoravides came from the region of the Senegal.

⁴ Timbuktu was captured by a Moroccan army in 1591.

tion by an Asiatic people, the Phoenicians, whose earliest settlements there appear to have been made somewhat less than a thousand years before the Christian era. Carthage, the most important of them, was founded not far from 800 B. C., and from that time for some six and a half centuries the history and civilization of Africa Minor may fairly be regarded as Asiatic. From the frontier of the Greek territory in Cyrene to beyond the Straits, the whole coast, besides much of the interior, was under the sway of the great Tyrian colony with its sanguinary Oriental gods and its Semitic talent for mercantile enterprise.

The Third Punic War marks the end of this first period of Asiatic rule although the Punic language did not disappear for many generations. As late as the time of the emperor Septimius Severus it was the native tongue of the district in which he was born. North Africa gradually passed under Roman domination, but we may date the new epoch in its culture as beginning with the refounding of Carthage by Julius Caesar. Thenceforth the region was in reality a part of Europe and remained so for seven hundred more years. The provinces of Africa, Numidia, and the Mauretanias were integral portions of the empire, partaking in the common life and civilization and contributing their quota of celebrated men to the glory of Rome. St. Augustine, the greatest of all Latin church fathers, was born in the present Algerian department of Constantine.⁵ So little were these provinces regarded as forming a territory unto themselves that they were later distributed between the prefectures of Italy and of Gaul. It is true that in the rural districts the mass of the people, like those in Britain, were never Latinized, and that the Berbers of the mountain and desert remained as independent as did the Picts and Scots, and like them grew increasingly troublesome in the days when the strength of the empire had decayed. But the land was studded with prosperous towns whose ruins attest to the splendor which was once theirs. The amphitheatre that still looms up near the village of el Djem in Tunis is larger than that at Pompeii or at Arles. To all intents and purposes Roman Carthage was long the second city in western Europe.⁶

For a brief space North Africa came under a new foreign master when, like the rest of the Western Empire, it was overrun by German barbarians. But the rule of the Vandals was short, leaving no traces behind it except that it accelerated the process

⁵ The emperor Macrinus was a Berber.

⁶ Herodian (VII. 6, 21) calls it second in the empire only to Rome, and the rival of Alexandria. Ausonius in his *Ordo Nobilium Urbium* (XI. 2 and 3) puts Rome first and Carthage and Constantinople in the second place.

that had already set in of decay of the civilized portion of the community and of recrudescence of strength on the part of the untamed Berber tribes.

In the latter part of the seventh century there burst a storm from the east that swept all before it. An Asiatic people new to history, the Mohammedan Arabs, in the first fervor of their conquering zeal, made their way across from Egypt, subduing, though not without struggles, Romans and Berbers alike, till within a generation they had penetrated to the Atlantic and across the Straits into Spain. Their own numbers were few, but their creed was speedily accepted by their new subjects who hastened to enroll themselves under the banner of militant Islam. Then for a second time North Africa became Asiatic. The Latin tongue and culture vanished from the land as completely as had the Phoenician. Its place was taken by Arabic and though the Berbers, thanks to superior numbers, soon reasserted themselves politically, for them, too, Arabic has ever since been the language of religion and of law, of learning and of civilization. From about the beginning of the eighth century until the year 1830, and in a measure until the present day, North Africa under Arab, Berber, and Turk, in its life and its thought has formed a part of Mohammedan Asia. The medieval universities of Fez and of Samarkand, despite the two thousand miles between them, were as fundamentally alike as were those of Oxford and Paris.

On the fourteenth of June, 1830, when the French army landed at Sidi Ferruch near Algiers, a new period of North African history dawned. The process of European reconquest had begun, yet this process, considering the greatly accelerated pace of events in our day, has till recently been slow, slower indeed than was the advance of the Arabs twelve hundred years ago. The first step, the subjugation of Algeria, took more than a quarter of a century to complete; the last ones, the partition of Morocco and the conquest of Tripoli, are being carried out at the present time. Now within a few years, perhaps even months, the whole of Africa Minor will have come, at least nominally, once more under European rule.

As we muse over these latest transformations, we wonder not so much that they have occurred as that they did not occur centuries earlier. Why did such weak, barbarous states, lying closer to many parts of Europe than these do to each other, remain so long unconquered, when the vast and remote empires of the Incas and of the Moghuls had for generations been in European hands? It is true that in the Middle Ages North Africa was usually more

than able to repel attack. The great empires of the Omeiads, the Abbasids, the Fatimites, the Almoravides, and the Almohades, and even of some of the minor dynasties, were on the offensive, not the defensive, as regards Christendom, and as late as the thirteenth century more than once threatened the reconquest of Spain. But by the end of the fourteenth, the Mohammedan world of North Africa, like that of Spain, had lost its vigor. It was nominally split up into three effete kingdoms,⁷ not one of them even as strong as that of Granada. In reality most of the country was in a state of tribal anarchy. And now the Christians literally began to carry the war into Africa. The Portugal of John II. and Emanuel and the Spain of Isabella and Ximenes, not satisfied with dividing the unexplored regions of the new world, also agreed on a line of delimitation in the nearer field of African conquest.⁸ Here both Christian states for a time met with brilliant success. By the year 1513 the Portuguese had possessed themselves not only of Ceuta and Tangier in the north but likewise of almost all the west coast of Morocco as far as the edge of the desert, and their influence extended into the interior where they had native chiefs in their employ. At the same date the Spaniards had made even greater progress along the southern shore of the Mediterranean. Oran, Algiers, Bougie, Tunis, and in fact nearly the whole shore as far as Tripoli, was in their hands or recognized their supremacy, as did the interior kingdom of Tlemçen. Weak and distracted, Mohammedan North Africa seemed destined to speedy subjugation.

But by the close of the sixteenth century we have a different picture. King Sebastian of Portugal with his army had been destroyed at Kasr el Kebir⁹ and, one after another, the African posts of Portugal on the Atlantic had fallen into the hands of the enemy or had been abandoned. Spain on her part had fared little better, for she had lost everything east of Oran, and her few remaining African possessions were confined to the coast and subject to constant attack.

The usual explanation given for these changes of fortune is the revival of militant Islam under the new Saadian dynasty in Morocco and the intervention of the Turks at Algiers and elsewhere. This explanation may be correct as far as it goes, but it is manifestly inadequate. We may perhaps admit that Portugal was too weak a state to hold her African conquests against a rejuvenated Morocco. It is also true that Charles V., who made two great

⁷ Tunis, Tlemçen, Fez.

⁸ In 1509.

⁹ In 1578.

North African expeditions, a successful one against Tunis, an unsuccessful one against Algiers, had none the less by the end of his reign lost the control of the Mediterranean, which had passed to the Ottoman fleet. But after Lepanto and the decay of Turkish power, Philip II., had he so wished, was in a position to re-establish, consolidate, and extend Spanish rule south of the Mediterranean, following the last behests of Queen Isabella. The armies that under such leaders as Don John and Parma fought so long and obstinately against the insurgent Dutch, that threatened the independence of England, and that actually occupied Paris, were more than sufficient to overcome the resistance of a handful of Turkish Janizaries, or of Berber chieftains, or of Moroccan sultans. The real strength of the Barbary States was indeed far inferior to what Europe supposed it to be, and their reputation was mostly due to the scandalous immunity they enjoyed for generations. Had Philip II. and his successors pursued a different policy, North Africa might well be a great Spanish territory to-day and Spain still one of the first of European powers. Now that she is striving to obtain a mere fraction of what might once have been hers, Spaniards complain bitterly that the negligence and folly of their forefathers have deprived them of their birthright.

But in the second half of the sixteenth century they had fixed their eyes elsewhere. They were absorbed by the task of conquering and exploiting their immense territories in the New World, which attracted their most adventurous spirits and which promised untold wealth. They were also intent on preserving at any cost their predominance in Europe, for which they poured out blood and treasure without stint, leaving them with scant attention or resources to spare for African enterprises, however near home. Africa offered nothing to tempt them, no mines of gold and silver, no possibility of rich tropical cultures with slave labor, no primitive pagans, whose souls their ardent missionaries might save, no real glory to be won or immediate increase of power and prestige in Europe. Instead there was a country whose jagged coast was difficult to hold, a land that grew ever worse as one penetrated into the interior, a warlike population animated by intense and ineradicable hatred of all Christians and especially of their hereditary enemies, the Spaniards. We need hardly wonder, then, that Spain paid small heed to the feeble garrisons which she still kept isolated as a matter of pride in her few remaining posts, often unpaid, short of food, and continually harassed by indefatigable enemies. In 1792 she actually abandoned Oran, her most important African presidio, though she had owned it almost as long as she did Mexico

or Lima, and longer than the English have held Gibraltar. To-day she regrets it, now that Oran is a flourishing city of well over one hundred thousand inhabitants, many of them Spaniards, but alas! under the French flag.

Spain, however, was not the only state that in those days failed to recognize the value of North African possessions. France remained equally indifferent and confined herself to occasional chastisement of the Barbary pirates and to maintaining a precarious trading-post at the port of La Calle. Louis XIV. repeatedly sent his fleets to bombard Algiers and other piratical dens, but he made only one futile attempt to get a permanent foothold.¹⁰ The conduct of England, judged by our present lights, was yet more extraordinary. She retained, wisely enough, of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the far-distant port of Bombay but, after an occupation of twenty-two years, she abandoned to the Moors Tangier at the very mouth of the Mediterranean. Sixteen years later the English captured Gibraltar from the Spaniards and have held it ever since, yet strange to say they have never tried to tighten their grip on the Straits by seizing Ceuta or the other presidios in Morocco, easy as this would have been for them on several occasions. They, too, suffered from the Barbary pirates, if less than did some others, and even the punitive expedition of Lord Exmouth in 1816 resulted in only one more bombardment.

In the years immediately following 1815 the naval, commercial, and colonial supremacy of Great Britain all over the world was more overwhelming than it had ever been before in her history, or indeed than it has been since. In the Mediterranean, where she carried on a flourishing trade, Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands served as bases for her all-powerful fleet and helped to secure her predominance. The one thing surest to awaken her alarm was any symptom of ambitious designs on the part of her old rival France. She was therefore violently opposed to the French expedition to Algiers, making every effort to prevent it except the actual use of force; in fact she might not have shrunk from this last extremity if she had been more convinced that the enterprise of the French would succeed.¹¹ When it did so and it had become evident that they were in Algeria to stay, she had to reconcile herself to the new situation as best she might, but she saw to it in 1844 that they should not acquire fresh territory by their war with Morocco, and both England and France took care that Spain

¹⁰ The expedition of the Duke of Beaufort to Djidjelli in 1664.

¹¹ The English consul at Algiers prophesied its failure, and the Duke of Wellington seems to have been doubtful of its success. See Darcy, *France et Angleterre: Cent Années de Rivalité Coloniale* (1904), p. 105.

should gain nothing by her hostilities with the same power in 1860. Soon afterwards the digging of the Suez Canal, by deflecting European trade with Australia and the Far East from the Cape route to that of the Mediterranean, added still more to the importance of the Mediterranean and particularly of the Straits in English eyes.

Like most beginnings of modern colonization, the French conquest of Algeria was a curiously haphazard affair. Charles X. and his ministers vacillated many months before they decided to despatch an army to obtain satisfaction for the insults France had received at the hands of the dey. For a while they entertained the marvellous project of letting their friend Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, avenge their honor for them and pocket the incidental profits. When at last they did decide to act for themselves, although they refused to tie their hands for the future by promises to England, they were quite uncertain as to how far their action should extend and anxious to have it ratified by the powers. Throughout they were thinking less of founding an African empire than of gaining a little military prestige for the Bourbon monarchy, and of giving malcontents in Paris something to talk about besides grievances. In these last objects they failed signally. The success of the Algiers expedition excited no popular enthusiasm in France and availed nothing to prevent the Revolution of 1830. The government of Louis Philippe, however, after some hesitation resolved to keep the conquest made by its predecessor and ultimately to extend it until the whole of Algeria was subdued. A beginning was also made of European colonization, but this came almost to a standstill for a while in the next reign when the emperor Napoleon III. indulged in the dream of a native Arab empire.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the creation of United Italy brought into existence a new Mediterranean power of the first rank. That power had scarcely established itself before it began to turn covetous glances towards the shores of Africa lying so close to its own. The first object of desire was the territory nearest at hand, the weak and tempting regency of Tunis, where there was already a considerable Italian colony. The dream that Rome should again rule over Carthage appealed to patriotic imaginations and seemed not impossible of fulfilment. The chief obstacle in the way was the interests of France. Napoleon III., ever favorable to the sister Latin nations, might possibly have been persuaded to let the Italians have Tunis and the Spaniards Morocco, contenting himself with the possession of Algeria, but the statesmen of the Third Republic proved less sentimental. They realized how much the position of the French in North Africa would be altered

for the worse if instead of rounding out Algeria by taking Tunis for themselves they were to get the Italians on their exposed flank. Rivalry between the two nations was therefore inevitable. In 1878 France was fortunate enough to have England and Germany intimate to her at the Congress of Berlin that they would not oppose her preponderance in Tunis. This action on the part of England, which was in striking contrast to her attitude half a century earlier, may have been due to a desire to prevent French opposition to her own establishment in Cyprus, and also to an unwillingness to see the Italians hold both shores of the narrow Straits of Sicily. As for Germany, Bismarck doubtless cared little which got Tunis, Italy or France. In either case he could count on an estrangement between the two which would be favorable to his policy. Under these circumstances the noisy activity of the Italians in regard to Tunis during the next three years was a fatal blunder, for it roused France to take the step they dreaded most, yet were too weak to forbid. In 1881 the French, with sound reason, if on trumpery pretexts, sent troops into Tunis and reduced it to the position of a protected state. The Italians could only frantically protest and justify Bismarck's calculation by joining Germany and Austria to form the Triple Alliance. They also began to turn their eyes more towards Tripoli, where the Turks had regained control in 1835, a much less tempting prize, but the best thing attainable.

For the next twenty years there was little apparent change of the situation of the European powers as regards North Africa, except that England by her occupation of Egypt in 1885 deepened still further her interest in Mediterranean affairs and entered into a new period of strained relations with France, whose influence in Morocco she actively combated. Gradually, however, with the opening of the twentieth century things took a different turn. Algeria, emerging from the difficulties of its earlier colonial days, was now on the high road to prosperity, and was clearly of the utmost value to France. Tunis had prospered from the first under French rule. France had also acquired immense tropical territories south of the Sahara and had begun to control the desert itself, thus binding together her scattered African possessions into a splendid empire with only the cornerstone lacking, namely Morocco, whose importance to her became more and more evident. Accordingly, under the guidance of M. Delcassé as foreign minister she set about to acquire it by coming to terms with her rivals. In 1904 she settled her outstanding differences with England, abandoning her own historical position and sentimental claims in Egypt in

return for a free hand in Morocco. In another treaty she obtained the same assurance from Italy by a recognition of Italian interest in Tripoli. But Spain also had to be taken into account.

The interest of Spain in her African presidios dwindled down to very small proportions after the evacuation of Oran. She even contemplated abandoning what was left of them. In 1844, however, she anticipated France by a few hours in the seizure of the Zaffarin Islands and her victorious though fruitless war with Morocco again turned the attention of her people to African affairs. Then too the success of the French in subduing Algeria and later in colonizing it, partly by the aid of Spanish settlers, was an impressive object lesson. The fear that France might in time extend her North African conquests further to the westward soon filled the minds of Spaniards with increasing anxiety. They began to proclaim that by right of geography and of history they were the only legitimate heirs to Moroccan territory, that the lands north and south of the Straits ought to be in the possession of one and the same nation as they had been in the days of the Romans and the Arabs. It is a noteworthy fact that whereas in the sixteenth century the greater interest that Spain took in the New World had turned her away from Africa, now at the opening of the twentieth, scarcely had she been deprived of Cuba and the Philippines, the last considerable fragments of her once magnificent colonial empire, than she eagerly entered again upon a policy of African expansion. This was the only goal left for the ambitions of her restless military leaders and of all who still cherished the traditions of Castilian imperialism. In one respect the moment was favorable. The empire of the Sherifs was rapidly disintegrating, but on the other hand Spain had to recognize that instead of being the sole claimant to the succession, she must make what terms she could with a neighbor stronger than herself, namely France. This she succeeded in doing, thanks to English support and to the conciliatory policy of M. Delcassé, but owing to recent events the exact extent of her share of the spoil is still a matter of negotiation.

Thus by the end of 1904, the various European powers holding lands in the Mediterranean had concluded a series of agreements with one another concerning their respective future domains in North Africa. Their projects, however, had yet to be carried out. The sudden intervention of Germany introduced unexpected complications which have more than once in the last few years threatened the world with a great war. Finally, France bought off Germany too by concessions elsewhere, but the international storm-centre passed from Morocco to Tripoli. In the autumn of 1911 the Ital-

ians, weary of waiting for a prize that seemed in no hurry to fall into their lap, excited by the gains of their neighbors, and perhaps alarmed by the thought that the Germans might discover that they had interests here also, determined to delay no longer. Without wasting time in controversy they proceeded to declare war on the Turks and they have, somewhat prematurely, notified the world of their annexation of the Tripolitan territory, rechristening it with the classical name of Lybia.

Before long now, Europe will once more be supreme throughout North Africa, where her domination will be more complete and more extensive than it was in the days of the Roman Empire. Although there are parts of Morocco as unexplored as if they were in the innermost recesses of Asia, and there are oases in Tripoli where no European has been seen for many years, they will soon have their wireless telegraph stations and be accessible to the aeroplane if not to the automobile. Europe has come equipped with all the paraphernalia of western civilization. The resources of modern science will enable her to triumph over material obstacles, tap new sources of wealth, and in spots at least make the desert blossom like the rose. They will not, however, speedily change the spirit of Islam. Under French rule in Algeria the native population has multiplied, and it will multiply elsewhere under the same conditions, and though we may still expect a considerable influx of European colonists into North Africa, the whole of which is now open to them, they are not likely ever to constitute the majority of the inhabitants. This will continue predominantly Berber as it was under the Romans and may resist assimilation to the conquerors as successfully as it did then. Even to-day there is a young Tunisian party as there is a young Egyptian. On the other hand, in Egypt the Europeans are but a handful compared with the natives, in Tunis they are an important element, and though only the minority of them are French, they will all, as will likewise the Jews, contribute to the growth of French influence. Already Africa Minor contains a million Europeans¹² and Algeria is regarded not as a colony but as a prolongation of France, with representatives in the national chambers and its good share of ministers and other high officials.¹³ It is France that in these regions has succeeded to the heritage of Rome. Compared with her Italy and Spain have but meagre portions, and their own emigrant children.

¹² Algeria (1911), 795,522; Tunis (1908), 158,293; Morocco (including Spanish possessions), perhaps 30,000; Tripoli (before the war), *ca.* 5,000. These figures include a few natives and part of the Jews.

¹³ For instance, in recent years, Messrs. E. Etienne, G. Thomson, and R. Viviani.

add to her strength. It is France first and foremost that seems called upon to demonstrate whether the European reconquest of North Africa, after more than eleven hundred years of Asiatic dominion, is to be merely a material or also a moral one. Granting that the majority of the people will always be of the primitive native stock, what will be the expression of their civilization, the French of advanced modern thought or the Arabic of the Koran? Time alone can furnish the answer to this fateful question, which is of immeasurable importance to the future of France and thereby of consequence to the whole world.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

CANADA VERSUS GUADELOUPE, AN EPISODE OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR¹

THE paper war, which began in 1760, on the question whether in making peace with France it would be well to keep Canada or Guadeloupe, should a choice be found necessary, is discussed by such historians as Mr. Lecky and Mr. G. L. Beer, but though the chief pamphlets on either side were known to them both, neither the extent of the controversy nor the light which it throws on the prevailing theory of empire has always been noticed.

The fray began in January, 1760, with *A Letter addressed to Two Great Men, on the Prospect of Peace, and on the Terms necessary to be insisted upon in the Negotiation*. All these pamphlets were of course published anonymously, and if unsuccessful, disavowed, while if successful, various pretenders to the authorship were apt to arise. This *Letter* is ascribed by Lecky to Lord Bath, by the catalogue of the British Museum to J. Douglas, successively bishop of Carlisle and Salisbury. It seems probable that the pamphlet was written by Douglas, the protégé of Lord Bath, but that the author had the benefit of a revision by his patron. Bath, formerly Pulteney, had been the great opponent of Sir Robert Walpole, had been kicked upstairs into the House of Lords by his opponent, and had ever since revenged himself by throwing pamphlets out of the window. In the present case some paragraphs show an animus against Sir Robert Walpole and a knowledge of the inner history of the period 1740-1742, which make it probable that they were either inspired or dictated by the patron. Though Horace Walpole naturally alludes to it as "a very dull pamphlet", it is really written with some clearness in favor of the retention of Canada.

The flood-gates were now unloosed. Apparently the next piece to appear was *An Answer to the Letter to Two Great Men, Containing Remarks and Observations on that Piece, and Vindicating the Character of a noble Lord from Inactivity*. This, though written in a kindly spirit, does not add much to the discussion, taking the easy line that we should keep all our conquests. "I am for retaining all our American conquests, and even for insisting upon Martinico, that

¹ Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December, 1911.

sepulchre of our merchant men, twelve hundred of which have been carried into that Island since the beginning of the war."

It was followed by *Remarks on the Letter Addressed to Two Great Men, in a Letter to the Author of that Piece*, an able and well-written pamphlet, which was extremely popular and ran into three editions within the year. Of these the second repeats the first, while the third has a number of changes, chiefly for style, and several additions, especially a postscript of eight pages. Mr. Lecky attributes it to William Burke, a kinsman of the great Edmund; and so also does Dr. William Hunt, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The British Museum originally attributes it to Pulteney, which is certainly wrong, and now to Charles Townshend; with this latter identification I am disposed to agree, internal evidence going to show that it was written by a member of Parliament. Its arguments, strong in favor of the necessity of retaining Guadeloupe at all hazards, will be familiar to readers of Lecky.

Then came *A Letter to the People of England, on the Necessity of putting an Immediate End to the War, and the Means of obtaining an Advantageous Peace* (London, 1760, pp. 54), which urges that every conquest in the West Indies should be restored, rather than one foot in Canada.

But the *Remarks* had evidently made an impression, and in much anxiety Benjamin Franklin now entered the fray with what is usually known as *The Canada Pamphlet*, which was published under the title *The Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to her Colonies and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadeloupe. To which are added, Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc.* This enjoyed great success, was soon acknowledged by Franklin, and was in the same year reprinted at Boston. The reprint has the following notice, "As the very ingenious, useful, and worthy Author of this Pamphlet (B—n F—n, LL.D.) is well-known and much esteemed by the principal Gentlemen in England and America; and seeing that his other Works have been received with universal Applause; the present Production needs no further Recommendation to a generous, a free, an intelligent and publick-spirited People." Franklin's pamphlet attracted much attention, and was in great part reprinted in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1760.

But perhaps the ablest pamphlet of the series is one not alluded to by Lecky, entitled *Reasons for keeping Guadaloupe at a Peace, preferable to Canada, explained in Five Letters from a Gentleman in Guadaloupe to his Friend in London* (1761). To this I cannot give

higher praise than that its author seems to me to have the better of Benjamin Franklin. He was answered by *A Detection of the False Reasons and Facts, contained in the Five Letters entitled, Reasons for keeping Guadeloupe at a Peace, preferable to Canada, explained in Five Letters from a Gentleman in Guadeloupe to his Friend in London; in which the Advantages of both Conquests are fairly and impartially stated and compared. By a Member of Parliament* (London, 1761). The style and temper of this pamphlet are much inferior to the other. The author is blustering, with perpetual recourse to italics and capital letters, and, though he convicts his opponent of occasional exaggeration, has distinctly the worst of the argument.

Meanwhile the well-known Israel Mauduit had published his celebrated *Considerations on the present German War* which, issued early in 1761, ran into six editions by the beginning of 1762, and was of distinct influence upon the conduct of the war. Mauduit's thesis, that further prosecution of the German War was but a source of bloodshed and expense, and that we should weaken France by capturing her colonies, "not useless ones on the Mississippi, but by seizing the French islands, and holding their whole West-India trade in deposit for Hanover" (fourth ed., p. 137) was obviously not without relation to the earlier controversy. It had to some extent been anticipated in an otherwise unimportant pamphlet of the earlier series, *A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in Town; on his Perusal of a Pamphlet addressed to Two Great Men* (1760), which says, "If we had not been so deeply engaged on the Continent, we might have extended our Conquests in the West-Indies even farther than we have done; and that St. Domingo and Martinico would, probably, have undergone, before this Time, the same Fate as Guadeloupe and Louisburgh." The great danger from France, he urges, "is her becoming our Rival at Sea; Of this we can never be too jealous". Canada is therefore of slight importance; but she must be driven from the Newfoundland fisheries, and as far as possible from the Caribbean; we must possess ourselves of "her Fishing and Sugar Islands, which has enabled her to maintain so great a Number of Sailors". This thesis, developed by Mauduit, provoked a further crop of rejoinders, and the subsequent peace negotiations of 1762 produced yet another, of which a surprisingly large number touch on the earlier dispute. Of the pamphlets issued after the *Considerations* and prior to the peace of 1763 which discuss this colonial question, I have the names of 36, not including second or third editions and reissues, and a more thorough search would doubt-

less discover others.² Undoubtedly the most important is *An Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation between Great Britain and France in 1761* (London, Dodsley, 1762), which is also attributed by Dr. Hunt to William Burke.

In these pamphlets we have a very clear statement of the mercantilist theory of empire and can see how there was beginning to grow up in the minds of such men as Pitt a conflict between that theory and the first faint glimmerings of a new ideal of empire based on liberty, which we of the British Empire are at present endeavoring to work out. To the more enlightened statesmen of the day the ideal of the old colonial system was not that of a mother-country selfishly exploiting her dependencies; however imperfect its practical working out, however much exposed to jobs on the part of British or West Indian merchants, the ideal on which the system rested was that of a self-contained empire, in which each part produced that which it was best fitted to produce. Of this self-contained empire there were four main parts: Great Britain herself, the American continental colonies, the West Indies, and the slaving stations on the west coast of Africa. With these and with the Newfoundland fisheries, Great Britain had a self-contained empire controlling the chief trades of the world. The mother-country supplied manufactures; the West Indies, sugar and sugar products; Africa, slave-labor; and the American colonies, the products of farm, forests, and fishery for the mother-country, and still more for the West Indies. Now as the Seven Years' War drew to an end, it was evident that the West Indian side of this self-contained empire was in danger of proving inadequate. Ever since the régime introduced in 1717 by that mixture of charlatan and genius, John Law, the French islands had gone ahead much faster than the British. Deprived by the selfishness of the Cognac interest in old France of any outlet for their molasses and rum, they had developed an enormous illicit trade with our continental colonies. This the celebrated Molasses Act of 1733 had endeavored to prohibit, but by the connivance of colonial juries, the act had remained a dead letter.

By 1760 it was obvious that our possessions in North America were to be greatly enlarged, that Canada was to be circumscribed, if not wholly taken over, that the British hinterland was to extend to the Ohio, if not to the Mississippi. How then, save by taking over practically all the West Indies, was this greater America to be given an adequate outlet for her raw materials; while if no such out-

² A bibliography of the pamphlets on this subject is being prepared by Professor C. W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, and myself, and will shortly be published.

let were given, would not her surplus population be compelled to turn to manufactures, and thus to overthrow the British monopoly of her market?

This dilemma is the central theme of almost all of these pamphlets. Thus the *Examination of the Commercial Principles* compresses the whole ideal of mercantilism into a sentence when it says, "But if neither sugar nor coffee were exported [from Guadeloupe, a contingency thought possible by Franklin] and the whole of each commodity was employed in the Home Consumption [*i. e.*, imperial consumption, and so not helping our foreign trade] yet would it not be a very material point, that our own Products in one part of our dominions should pay for our products in another, instead of our being obliged to pay ready money for them in foreign markets?" So too the *Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in Town, on his Perusal of a Pamphlet addressed to Two Great Men* says that Guadeloupe "alone employs a great Number of Ships, and that all the Islands which we have at present scarce produces Sugar enough to supply our home Consumption, which has been occasion'd by the immense Increase of our domestic Consumption of that Commodity. Of how great Use, therefore, that Island would be to us, not only in Regard to an Increase of Seamen, but of Riches, we may easily judge: For it is our Exports only, not our Imports, which enrich a Country", and he urges that, therefore, either Guadeloupe or the French part of Hispaniola must be kept. Similarly in 1762 *A Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Worshipful Aldermen, and Common Council; the Merchants, Citizens, and Inhabitants, of the City of London, From an Old Servant*, which was written by one George Heathcote, ran to three editions within the year, and provoked *A Reply to Mr. Heathcote's Letter from an Honest Man*, advocates strongly the idea of a self-contained empire, arguing for the necessity of keeping Guadeloupe, Goree on the West African Coast, and the monopoly of the Newfoundland fisheries; otherwise, he says, with a profusion of capitals, "the people would be (I believe) very apt to reply, JUSTICE—JUSTICE—JUSTICE—HEADS and CONFISCATIONS". On the same principle, in the abortive negotiations of 1761, we find Pitt, who shared to the full in the mercantile beliefs of his day, laying such stress on the retention by Great Britain of both Senegal and Goree, the two most advantageous slaving stations, that this was one of the points on which the negotiations finally made shipwreck.

In discussing this dilemma the *Five Letters* in favor of the retention of Guadeloupe begin with an attack on Canada, which they

say produces nothing but "a few hats", and what do these compare "with that article of luxury sugar, the consumption of which is daily increasing both in America and Europe, and become one of the necessities of life?" Jamaica alone cannot supply us with enough sugar, and "the fur-trade does not employ the hundredth part of the shipping and seamen that the sugar trade does". "No family in England can want [*i. e.*, can be without] sugar twice a day, and few in the North parts of America can want rum as often."

In reply to this, *A Detection of the false Reasons and Facts* gives four answers, and in my opinion has the better of the argument.

1. "We are able to supply every demand of sugar without Guadeloupe; we are not able to carry on the fur-trade with advantage except we can keep Canada."

2. Canada may "be improveable to a variety of Uses, and produce many things, which in course of time shall be found necessary to mankind, and serve many other Purposes of Profit and security; unto which a sugar island, by its situation, cannot pretend".

3. If we have "an Universal Empire on the Continent of North America", we can take the sugar islands when we will.

4. A northern colony is preferable to a southern, being healthier and more suited to the development of a white race.

But the argument soon goes deeper.

The having all North-America to ourselves [says the author of the *Five Letters*] by acquiring Canada, dazzles the eyes, and blinds the understandings of the giddy and unthinking people, as it is natural for the human mind to grasp at every appearance of wealth and grandeur, yet it is easy to discover that such a peace might soon ruin Britain. I say the acquisition of Canada would be destructive, because such a country as North-America, ten times larger in extent than Britain, richer soil in most places, all the different climates you can fancy, all the lakes and rivers for navigation one could wish, plenty of wood for shipping, and as much iron, hemp, and naval stores, as any part of the world; such a country at such a distance, could never remain long subject to Britain; you have taught them the art of war, and put arms in their hands, and they can furnish themselves with everything in a few years, without the assistance of Britain, they are always grumbling and complaining against Britain, even while they have the French to dread, what may they not be supposed to do if the French is no longer a check upon them; you must keep a numerous standing army to over-awe them; these troops will soon get wives and possessions, and become Americans; thus from these measures you lay the surest foundation of unpeopling Britain, and strengthening America to revolt; a people who must become more licentious from their liberty, and more factious and turbulent from the distance of the power that rules them; one must be very little conversant in history, and totally unacquainted with the passions and operations of the human mind, who cannot foresee those events as clearly as anything

that can be discovered, that lies concealed in the womb of time; it is no gift of prophecy, it is only the natural and unavoidable consequences of such and such measures.

To this Franklin replies, not without force, that the internal hatred and jealousy of the American colonies one for another make their union hopeless. The events of the next fifteen years were to prove that he was wrong, and that by the conquest of Canada British power in North America had become at once too supreme, and too far removed from its base.

Then the advocate of Guadeloupe returns to the argument that the Americans will desire independence, and makes it a plea for the necessity of sufficient sugar islands in a self-sustaining empire. By keeping a due proportion between the West Indies, the Slave Coast, and the continental colonies, he says, we have a fourfold trade all within the empire. "Ask any man in most of our American plantations . . . if those West-India islands were doubled in extent and produce, if North-America would not thereby increase and double in value; its trade with these islands be doubled, as well as its trade with Britain." At present "it is there [*i. e.*, in the West Indies] the just proportion to be maintained amongst the three fails".

Franklin had argued that the best way to keep the colonies from thoughts of independence was to give them plenty of room for agriculture, and had argued—one wonders how far honest Benjamin was really sincere—that "a people spread thro' the whole tract of country on this side the Mississippi, and secured by Canada in our hands, would probably for some centuries find employment in agriculture, and thereby free us at home effectually from our fears of American manufactures".

In reply to this the author of the *Five Letters* argues forcibly that the more sugar islands we have the more will America stick to the production of farm produce and raw materials which can be sent to them. Otherwise,

They must naturally put those spare people to learn arts and trades; to make cloaths, shoes, stockings, shirts, etc., smiths, carpenters, braziers, and all the trades that flourish in England: after this is accomplished, of what utility will they be of to Great Britain? . . . but this is not all, for then she will rival you in the West-Indies: America will furnish those islands with every thing that now comes from England, and can do it cheaper. . . . Are not we the only people upon earth, except Spain, that ever thought of establishing a colony ten times more extensive than our own [country]; of richer soils and more variety of climates, productive of every individual thing that our country can yield, and yet fancy, when it comes to maturity, it will still depend upon us, or be of any kind of advantage to us: on the contrary, if it does not become our master, it must soon, very soon, stand our powerful rival in all branches of our trade.

And he sums up his point of view in the sentence: "Will people consider that those shining advantages North America has beyond any other country we know, is the very thing which creates our danger?" On the other hand the West Indies fit into his ideal of a self-contained empire, bound together in the bands of commercial affection, because as islands they "must always be dependent upon her, or some other such power . . . as they produce nothing that the mother-country does".

In reply to which remarkable prophecy Franklin had only the argument to advance that the high price of American labor would prove a fatal bar to the establishment of manufactures.

The advocates of expansion in North America at all hazards won the day, with the result that by the treaty of 1763 the British Empire became long on the products of farm and forest, and short on sugar. An interesting side-issue was the lively controversy which arose toward the end whether Pitt's desire for North American expansion was due to his generous love for the Americans, or to his being under the thumb of the group of West Indian planters in the House of Commons, for whom the conquest of Guadeloupe meant a new and dangerous competitor. On this the most specific statement is made by Mauduit. The fourth edition of his *Considerations*, preserved in the British Museum, has numerous manuscript notes in his own clear handwriting, some of them not without importance for the biographer of Pitt. In one of these he says:

During the whole of Mr. Pitt's administration, no one had so much of his confidence as Mr. Beckford. He was made to believe that he held the City by Beckford's means, and gave free admission to him, while he kept himself inaccessible to every one else. The revealer of his will in the House of Commons was Mr. Beckford, for Mr. Pitt himself seldom went thither. I heard him making most fulsome panegyric on Mr. Beckford's abilities; and three times following insult the whole House for presuming to laugh at Mr. Beckford's professing disinterestedness. Beckford dreaded the increase of our sugar islands, lest that might lessen the value of his lands in Jamaica, and hence proceeded Mr. Pitt's invincible aversion to any attempts on the French Islands; and the speech he made on the first day of the Sessions 1760, soon after the *Considerations* had been published, in which he expressly declared against making any further conquests in the West Indies.³ This made it necessary to resume the argument; and the following discourse was written in answer to that speech, the words of which, here quoted in italics, I took down in short-hand as he spoke them.

³ Another manuscript note of Mauduit gives Pitt's words on the occasion in question more fully than in the printed text, representing him as saying, "a nation may over-conquer itself; and by being fed with more conquests than it can digest, may have the overplus turn to surfeit and disease instead of nourishment".

Let us hope that no such motives really influenced the Great Commoner.

This Old-World controversy seems to me to prove that at the time imperial theories were much more a subject of discussion than is sometimes thought to be the case; and that the field was still held by the advocates of an empire commercially self-contained. Not till the American colonies had torn away, not till the attempt to carry on the old system after their loss had resulted in futility and widespread discontent, not till the nineteenth century, did the new idea of an empire based on liberty rise above the horizon.

WILLIAM L. GRANT.

THE FIRST NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION, 1808

THE national party convention as a method of nominating candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency dates back in unbroken line to the election of 1832. Long before that, however, the same method was secretly employed by the Federalist party. The Federalist convention of 1812, described in the first volume of this REVIEW by Mr. John S. Murdock,¹ has hitherto been regarded as the solitary instance of a national party convention before 1831. This can no longer be maintained, for new material has recently come to light² which tells the story of a secret meeting of Federalist leaders in New York in 1808 that nominated Pinckney and King for the presidency and vice-presidency, and served as a model for the convention of 1812. This was the original national nominating convention.

A peculiar problem of the Federalist party, repeated in 1808 and in 1812, brought about this premature appearance of the keystone to modern party machinery. On each occasion the policy pursued by the Republicans—in 1808, embargo; in 1812, war with Great Britain—seemed absolutely destructive to the class and sectional interests represented by the Federalists. It was vitally necessary for them to defeat Madison at any cost. In each year an insurgent Democrat—in both cases a Clinton—entered the presidential race with more or less of the Federalist policies as his platform. The question before the Federalist party then, was whether to run their own candidates, or, with much greater chance of winning, to back the insurgent already in the field. Some method was necessary to reach a decision on this point that would be binding on the whole party. One alternative was to adopt the Congressional caucus, the prevailing method of presidential nomination in the Republican party. But to this there were many objections. The Federalists had already, in 1800, found the caucus ineffective for party harmony. In 1808, moreover, there were too few Federalists at Washington to make a Federalist caucus practicable, and the growing unpopular-

¹ "The First National Nominating Convention", AM. HIST. REV., I. 680.

² The Harrison Gray Otis MSS., in the writer's possession. Documents cited in this article are from the Otis MSS., unless otherwise noted.

ity of this method, even in the Republican party, was counted on by the Federalists as part of their political capital against Madison. A convention of delegates was the only alternative.

Early in 1808 the political situation, in regard to the approaching presidential election, was as follows. For the Federalists the outlook was extremely gloomy. In looking over the list of electoral votes³ it was hard to see how 89, a majority, could be secured for a Federalist candidate. Since the election of 1804, in which Pinckney and King received but fourteen electoral votes, the party had continued to lose ground in the states. The governments of New Hampshire in 1805, and of Vermont and Massachusetts in 1807, became for the first time in their history Democratic in every branch. In Congress, the Federalist minority was a negligible quantity. In consequence, it seemed hopeless to expect success for Federalist candidates. Timothy Pickering wrote from Washington in January: "The federalists here are in point of *numbers* so utterly impotent; and democracy governs in nearly all the States with such an overwhelming majority; nothing would be more remote from the contemplation of the federalists than to set up candidates of their own for President and Vice-President. They have only a choice of evils"⁴—to support one of the insurgent movements in the Republican party. Of these there were two. The regular administration nominations—Madison for president and George Clinton for vice-president—were made by "Bradley's Caucus", consisting of 89 out of the 130 Republicans in Congress, on January 23. Two days earlier the "Quids" in the Virginia legislature, John Randolph's

³ The following summary of the election of 1808 may be found useful:

State	Elec. Votes	Method of Choice	Date of Elec. (of State Elec. when Electors chosen by Legislature)	Madison	Pinckney	Clinton
N. H.	7	Legislature	Aug. 29		7	
Vt.	6	Legislature	Sept. 5	6		
Mass.	19	Legislature (not decided until Nov. 7)	Apr. 4-May 30		19	
R. I.	4	Legislature	Aug. 30		4	
Conn.	9	Legislature	Apr. 4		9	
N. Y.	19	Legislature	Apr. 26-May 7	13		6
N. J.	8	General ticket	Nov. 1-2	8		
Pa.	20	General ticket	Nov. 4	20		
Del.	3	Legislature	Oct. 3		3	
Md.	11	Districts	Nov. 7	9	2	
Va.	24	General ticket	Nov. 4	24		
N. C.	14	Districts	Nov. 7	11	3	
S. C.	10	Legislature	Dec. 6	10		
Ga.	6	Legislature		6		
Tenn.	5	Districts	Nov. 7	5		
Ky.	8	Districts	Nov. 14	7		
Ohio	3	Districts	Nov. 7	3		
	176			122	47	6

⁴ Pickering to C. W. Hare, January 16, 1808. Pickering Papers, XIV. 177.

insurgent sect of some two years' standing, nominated James Monroe for the presidential chair. George Clinton's candidacy, caused by the disappointed ambition of his clan for the regular presidential nomination, was announced in March,⁵ and speedily supported by a number of influential Republican newspapers.⁶ Indications soon appeared that the Clintonians were bidding for Federalist backing. Rumor had it that Clinton disapproved of Jefferson's Embargo;⁷ James Cheetham and, of all persons, the *ci-devant* Citoyen Genêt,⁸ vied with the Federalist editors in exposing French influence in the administration. Here was the Federalists' opportunity. Instead of going down to certain defeat with candidates of their own, why not join in supporting Clinton, who was thus endorsing their policies? Coalition with the Democrats was not unprecedented—it had already been effected in state elections in Pennsylvania, New York, and Rhode Island.

There was a certain amount of correspondence early in the year among leading Federalists in regard to the presidential nominations,⁹ but serious consideration of that topic was postponed until after the spring elections in Massachusetts and New York. These elections were in reality a part of the presidential election, for in New York it was already provided that the legislature would choose presidential electors, and in Massachusetts, as no method had yet been fixed, the decision rested with the legislature about to be chosen. Under those circumstances, it seems strange that the Federalists did not make their presidential nominations before the state elections

⁵ His letter of March 5 disavowing the Washington caucus is in the *Philadelphia United States Gazette*, March 8, 1808, and all leading Federalist newspapers, also in *Communications on the next Election . . . by a Citizen of New York* (n. p. 1808), p. 35, n. 2.

⁶ James Cheetham's *American Citizen*, the leading Democratic journal of New York City; his *Republican Watch-Tower*, the *Washington Expositor*, the *Albany Register*, and, for a time, the *Philadelphia Democratic Press*. The most formidable electioneering pamphlet for Clinton was *An Address to the People of the American States who choose Electors* (Washington, April, 1808).

⁷ The *Boston Columbian Centinel*, June 25, 1808. J. D. Hammond, *History of Political Parties in the State of New York*, I. 269, n. The *American Citizen* began to attack the Embargo in August.

⁸ Genêt's "Lucubrations" (as the *Washington Monitor* called them), in behalf of his father-in-law, appeared in the *Albany Register* over various pseudonyms. He was also the author of the pamphlet mentioned in note 5.

⁹ Pickering's letter, quoted above, discussed the merits of Madison, Clinton, and Monroe, and decided in favor of the latter. "Mr. Monroe is inferior in learning and discernment to Mr. Madison: but then he is a more practical man; and we think more upright than either of the candidates. Indeed we know of nothing to impeach his integrity. Considering his diplomatic career—a portion of it amid the hot-bed of corruption—Paris; his actual poverty is a proof of his honesty." A rare compliment for Timothy Pickering to pay to a "Jacobin", and an amusing comparison to his ferocious attack on Monroe in 1797. See also William Barton to Pickering, March 19, 1808. Pickering Papers, XXVIII. 245.

began. They probably wished to make a test of their strength, before deciding between separate candidates and a coalition with the insurgents.

The results of the early state elections were highly encouraging to the Federalists. In Massachusetts, owing to the injudicious nomination of Christopher Gore,¹⁰ they failed to capture the governorship, but secured what was far more important, a working majority in both houses of the legislature.¹¹ The New York Federalists failed to do so well, but managed to increase their delegation in the assembly from 21 to 45, which, out of a total number of 105,¹² would make a Clinton-Federalist alliance irresistible. These results were brought about mainly through the skilful use by Federalist leaders of a potent electioneering weapon furnished them by Jefferson—the Embargo. They were quick to see its possibilities for stirring up the people. “The Embargo will ‘touch their bone and their flesh’, when they must curse its authors”, wrote Timothy Pickering.¹³ The first gun of the Massachusetts, and incidentally of the presidential campaign, was Pickering’s violent attack on the administration’s policy in his letter to Governor Sullivan.¹⁴ It was printed in every Federalist newspaper in the country, and thousands of copies, in pamphlet form, were circulated throughout the state and the Union.¹⁵ Pickering’s letter was the means of “arousing the people from their lethargy”,¹⁶ of playing on the distress which commercial restriction caused a seafaring population, and shaking off the fatal apathy that

¹⁰ Christopher Gore’s nomination was distinctly the work of the Essex Junto. He was, as the Republicans did not fail to point out, the son of a refugee Tory, and his only public service so far had been in England as commissioner under the Jay treaty, and chargé des affaires. His vote in Boston fell 600 short of Caleb Strong’s in 1807.

¹¹ The votes on May 25 for speaker of the house and president of the senate were 252–221, and 19–17, in favor of the Federalist candidates.

¹² J. D. Hammond, *Political Parties in New York*, I. 261, 268.

¹³ To George Rose, March 13, 1808. Pickering Papers, XIV. 197.

¹⁴ *A Letter from the Hon. Timothy Pickering . . . Addressed to his Excellency James Sullivan* (Boston, March 9, 1808).

¹⁵ Christopher Gore to Rufus King, March 10, 1808. C. R. King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, V. 88. The Democrats asserted that no less than 25,000 copies of the Pickering *Letter* were distributed.

¹⁶ This phrase, as applied to the Embargo, is repeated, with variations, by Gore (letter cited), by Josiah Dwight of Northampton in a letter of March 16, 1808, to H. G. Otis, and by John Henry, the British spy, in his letter of March 10, 1808, to H. W. Ryland (Henry Adams, *United States*, IV. 245). “Curtius” in the *Boston Columbian Centinel*, January 23–27, 1808, writes under the head, “The Embargo a Blessing”, that the Embargo will so redound to the advantage of the Federalists, that he is astonished at the opposition of Federalist editors to it. “The Embargo is our *Panacea* . . . It is the cure of all our evils”. Timothy Dwight, so late as December 21, 1808, hopes that the Embargo may “remain until it has thoroughly done its work”. Pickering Papers, XXVIII. 418.

had characterized the Federalist party in the last seven years. Federalist leaders rightly calculated that popular discontent with the "Terrapin Policy" would increase in geometrical ratio to its duration. The Massachusetts and New York elections turned the tide of "corruption so rapidly extending";¹⁷ might not the ebb tide of reaction prove strong enough to carry a Federalist candidate to the presidential chair?

With these considerations in their minds, the leaders now began in earnest the work of deciding on the moot question of the presidential nomination. The first move¹⁸ came from Philadelphia. Charles Willing Hare, a prominent Federalist of that city, one of its representatives in the Pennsylvania assembly, wrote Harrison Gray Otis on June 2, 1808:

We are desirous here to learn what steps you mean to adopt in Massachusetts, with regard to the election of President. Whether you determine to nominate a federalist, or to support General Clinton,¹⁹ it is equally necessary that we should hear from you. Our Electors are chosen in November by the people, in one ticket for the whole State. Hence the time has nearly arrived, at which in the event of its being determined to support a federal candidate, some previous arrangements should be made. Or if you and our friends generally are inclined to vote for Clinton it is right that we should be apprized of it, in order that we may prepare to yield an efficient support to that portion of the democrats, who advocate his election. As your Legislature is now federal and is in session it is generally expected here that the first movement will be with you. And your advice would have decisive influence with us.

Details of the action of Federalist leaders in Massachusetts, on receipt of Hare's letter, are preserved in two letters of Christopher Gore to Rufus King.²⁰ The Federalist legislative caucus at Boston appointed a Committee of Twenty,²¹ which in turn appointed a Com-

¹⁷ Pickering's complaint in 1804. H. Adams, *New England Federalism*, p. 352.

¹⁸ Gore says as much in his letter of June 16. King, *Rufus King*, V. 101. Hare's letter itself is among the Otis papers.

¹⁹ After April, no more is said in Federalist correspondence about supporting Monroe. It soon became evident that Monroe had no support outside of Virginia.

²⁰ Boston, June 8 and 16, 1808, printed in King, *Rufus King*, V. 100-102.

²¹ Gore's letter says the Committee of 20 "were chosen by the Federalists consisting of nearly three hundred". This is undoubtedly the legislative caucus, as (1) the legislative caucus was organized, as indicated by a letter of June 1 from James Lloyd to "Hon'ble Mr. Otis, Chairman of Federal meeting of the members of the legislature", accepting the caucus nomination for senator; (2) the voters in house and senate for Lloyd, as Adams's successor, plus the nine members of the council, amount to almost 300; (3) all the members of the committee except Cabot were then members of the legislature, and Cabot was in the council; (4) no "Grand Federal Caucus" (mass-meeting)—the only other body by which the committee could have been chosen—is advertised in Boston papers for June 4-8, although one is advertised for April 3, and another for May 10, in the *N. E. Palladium*.

mittee of Correspondence, "to correspond with the Federalists in other states on the business of the next Election of President and V. President",²² and "for the purpose of concerting our arrangements, and ascertaining, as far as could be done, the Weight of the Federalists in the next Election". The committee consisted of George Cabot, Harrison Gray Otis, president of the senate, Christopher Gore, who had been elected to the house after his defeat for the governorship, Timothy Bigelow, speaker of the house, and James Lloyd, a Boston merchant who had just been chosen Adams's successor in the United States Senate. All were Boston men, and all, except Otis, were of the Essex Junto persuasion, recognizing Pickering as their leader.²³ The committee held a meeting on June 10, when "after some Conversation, it was deemed advisable to propose a meeting of Federalists, from as many States, as could be seasonably notified, at New York the last of this, or the Beginning of the next month".²⁴

Here, then, is the original proposition²⁵ for the original nominating convention.²⁶ The idea was revolutionary in party machinery, both from a Federalist and a national point of view. By 1808 the Republican party had brought the convention system of nomination to a high degree of development in the states,²⁷ but this movement was regarded by the Federalist party with mingled suspicion and contempt. Ever since the pernicious activities of the Jacobin clubs—the "self-created societies" of 1793–1794—every type of extra-legal machinery was anathema to Federalists, especially to the New England section of the party. Nominations by conventions of delegates were illegal, revolutionary, despotic. The people were bartering away their franchise in promising to support the candidates of a set of delegates.²⁸ In the eyes of most Federalists in

²² Compare this indirect method of election with similar methods of appointing committees of correspondence in New York in 1789. G. D. Luetscher, *Early Political Machinery in the United States*, p. 115.

²³ I take it that the Essex Junto, from 1800 to 1815, should be defined as the Massachusetts Federalist leaders who opposed John Adams in 1800, who condoned the Chesapeake outrage, and who squinted at secession in 1814.

²⁴ Gore's letter of June 16 to Rufus King. King, *Rufus King*, V. 101.

²⁵ So far as appears from the available sources. The idea was probably discussed by H. G. Otis with New York and Philadelphia politicians on a visit he made to those cities in May, 1808.

²⁶ Note Hare's use of the term convention in his letter of June 19 to Otis, below.

²⁷ Luetscher, *Political Machinery*, chs. III–IV.

²⁸ Excellent examples of this attitude are given in G. D. Luetscher, pp. 69–72, 105, 141–143. See also a leading article, "Freedom of Election", in the *Columbian Centinel*, August 3, 1808. Curiously enough, the Federalists held one of the first conventions that nominated candidates for office (in Pennsylvania, 1788). J. S. Walton, *AM. HIST. REV.*, II. 264.

1808, the only proper methods of nomination were by mass-meetings, or by personal friends of the candidate.²⁹ Hence, when as frequently happened, the leaders found the use of some proscribed method of nomination a political necessity, the fact was carefully concealed from the body of the voters. This was the case with the convention of 1808; the modern student will search the Federalist press in vain for the slightest hint of its existence. Our knowledge of it is derived exclusively from the correspondence of the Federalist leaders, and from impudent disclosures by Republican editors, who naturally took great pleasure in lifting the veil of secrecy.

The work of securing a national representation in the convention was carried on by personal communications from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The Massachusetts Committee of Correspondence met on June 10, Christopher Gore informs us,

and immediately sent Livermore³⁰ to N. Hampshire, and we are flatter'd with the Belief that the Electors of that State will be federal. . . . Bigelow sets off on Monday for Vermont to consult and arrange with the Feds of that State, on their sending some person or persons to the meeting in N. York; and to attain the best Data for forming an opinion as to the Result of their Election. Otis is now at R. Island.³¹

These movements were all duly reported by the opposition press.³²

²⁹ Pennsylvania is an exception to this statement. Here the Federalists in 1808 are using the county convention to nominate county officers, members of Congress, members of the state assembly, to confirm the nomination of governor, and issue election addresses. (E. g., in Franklin, Lancaster, and Westmoreland counties; *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette*, August 23, September 7 and 10, 1808.) The Pennsylvania Federalists reserved their criticisms for the legislative caucus. J. S. Walton, *AM. HIST. REV.*, II. 175.

³⁰ Probably Edward St. Loe Livermore (1762-1832), originally a New Hampshire man, member of Congress from the Essex north district, 1807-1811.

³¹ To Rufus King, June 16. King, *Rufus King*, V. 101.

³² The Amherst (N. H.) *Farmers' Cabinet* of August 23, 1808, states that "Delegates from the Essex Junto met the Federal representatives of the State in the late session at Concord" (which ended June 14) and drew up a slate of presidential electors, which was afterwards published (in the *Portsmouth Oracle*, September 24) as coming directly from the people. This charge is probably true, as the electoral ticket made a premature appearance in the Boston *Columbian Centinel* on June 25, much to the surprise of the New Hampshire Federalists (Keene, *New Hampshire Sentinel*, July 16). "A Traveller" notifies the Boston *Democrat* of July 6 that the Essex Junto's "agents may be found in every state of the union, disseminating falsehoods. If you travel northward into Vermont . . . you may hear of an Hon. sp r [Bigelow] perambulating those parts, perhaps for the laudable and patriotic purpose of assisting to enforce the Embargo laws on Lake Champlain!!! If you travel southward, you may find the son of an old refugee tory [Lloyd or Gore] whose father's life was 'justly devoted to the cord', together with hon. senators, closeted with Bond, their majesty's consul." The Boston *Independent Chronicle* of June 16 states, "Caution—beware of Counterfeits!! The citizens of Rhode-Island are cautioned against the tricks and devices of two federal missionaries, well and truly paid by the Essex Junto here, to propagate all kinds of falsehoods, etc., to answer electioneering purposes for the choice of Electors."

On the day following the committee meeting Otis wrote Hare in Philadelphia³³ and received from him an answer as follows, dated June 19.

I received yours of the 11th on the 16. I immediately took measures for convening a few of our most active firm and discreet friends. A Meeting of about a dozen was held yesterday—at which your objects and reasoning were stated—and so far as regards the propriety of the proposed convention, immediately and without hesitation acquiesced in. A Committee consisting of Messrs Fitzsimons R Wain Latimer Morgan³⁴ and myself, were appointed to correspond with you—and in obedience to your suggestion to “organise for the South.” We shall immediately write to some of our friends in Maryland and Delaware, and after having heard from them I shall again address you. It has appeared to us, that the second Monday in August would be a convenient time for assembling. The State of our foreign relations will then have been better ascertained, and some further Manifestations of public feeling will probably have been made. At the same time it will not be too late for a full correspondence with the Southern Federalists.

Subsequent letters from Hare to Otis inform us that a delegate was sent to Delaware, but that James A. Bayard, the Federalist “boss” of that state, threw “cold water upon the idea of holding a Meeting, and in his letters here has rather endeavored to persuade us to abandon the project”.³⁵ Through Robert Goodloe Harper the co-operation of the Maryland Federalists was secured. South Carolina was communicated with through the Charleston “junto”, as John Rutledge jocosely called a Federalist committee in that city.³⁶ The New York Federalists were informed of the convention project through Gore’s letters to Rufus King; and Judge Egbert Benson, after a personal interview with the Massachusetts committee,³⁷ was given the task of attending to Connecticut and New Jersey. Benson reported to Otis from New York on July 13 as follows:

On my return through Connecticut I saw Messrs. Goodrich and Daggett;³⁸ and after being at Home a day or two I determined to go to

³³ Unfortunately there are no copies of Otis’s own letters of this year preserved in the Otis papers, and the writer has not succeeded in recovering any of the originals.

³⁴ Thomas Fitzsimons (1741–1811), Robert Wain, George Latimer, and Benjamin R. Morgan, all active Philadelphia Federalists. These four were members of the “Federal Committee of Correspondence of the City and County of Philadelphia”, appointed at a mass-meeting on March 7. *U. S. Gazette*, March 8; *Relf’s Philadelphia Gazette*, June 25.

³⁵ Hare to Otis, July 12, 1808.

³⁶ Rutledge to Otis, September 18, 1808. This was the younger John Rutledge, member of Congress, 1797–1803. He and Henry William De Saussure, the future chancellor, were members of the “junto”.

³⁷ Duly reported in the Democratic press of New York. (*Letters of Marcus and Philo-Cato*, new ed., 1810, p. 70.)

³⁸ Chauncey Goodrich (1759–1815), then senator from Connecticut, and Daniel Daggett (1764–1851), a member of the state legislature.

New Jersey, where I saw Messrs. Ogden and Stockton;³⁹ and to Philadelphia, where I saw Messrs. Rawle and Hopkinson.⁴⁰ To all these several Gentlemen I mentioned how anxious and zealous You were in Boston as to the ensuing Presidential Election, and Your Intention to convene a number of our Friends from other States to confer and come to some general Understanding on the following Points, Whether it shall be advisable for Us to have federal Candidates for President and Vice President? If so, Who shall they be? If not, then, Shall the federal Electors, wherever they may happen to be chosen, vote for Clinton or for Madison?, and lastly, Shall the Removal of the Seat of Government, back to Philadelphia, be attempted?⁴¹—that my mission to them was to suggest that they should instantly associate to themselves such Persons as should think proper to form a Committee of Correspondence through You with our friends in Boston, and You doubtless will hear from them soon. The Gentlemen in Philadelphia will send some Person on the like Errand to Delaware.

No effort seems to have been made to get into communication with the North Carolina Federalists, who proved strong enough to give Pinckney three electoral votes, or with Virginia, where Federalism still prevailed along the Potomac and the Shenandoah.⁴² The western states, where the party still existed in a moribund state, were also neglected, although some attempt was made to communicate to

³⁹ Aaron Ogden (d. 1829) and Richard Stockton, jr. (1764–1828).

⁴⁰ William Rawle (1759–1836) and Joseph Hopkinson (1770–1842).

⁴¹ A project of this sort was moved in the House of Representatives in February, 1808, the object being to remove the Capitol from "Virginia Influence". Hare writes Otis, July 12, "In Maryland we are informed great fear and anxiety prevail relative to the removal of the seat of Government, and on this account in that State, our friends are warmly desirous to have a Southern President." With representatives from Maryland and South Carolina present, the project could hardly have been brought up in the convention.

⁴² A letter of William R. Davie, the Federalist leader of North Carolina, written August 15, 1808, shows him to have been completely out of touch with the rest of the party. *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, no. 7, p. 68. Augusta County, in the upper valley of Virginia, was a nest of Federalists. At Staunton, the county-seat, a Federalist mass-meeting on September 17 appointed a committee which drew up a strong election address, made an independent nomination of Pinckney and King, and formed an electoral ticket by correspondence with Federalists in other counties. This ticket was communicated to the Federalist newspapers of Richmond, which failed to publish it, as the Federalists of that place had decided, as the only means of making their vote count, to support the Monroe electoral ticket. This brought out an acrimonious address from the Staunton committee, stating that they wished nothing to do with Monroe, after his correspondence with Jefferson, "besides our objection, on principle, to all temporising". N. Y. *Evening Post*, October 4, November 5, 1808; C. H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, pp. 87–90. It was here that, in 1812, the convention was held which refused to endorse DeWitt Clinton, and nominated independently Rufus King and General Davie (E. Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, p. 102). A strong Pinckney election pamphlet was written by a Virginian (J. T. Danvers, *Picture of a Republican Magistrate*, N. Y., 1808).

them the nominations.⁴³ Federalism was as much out of place beyond the Alleghanies as powdered hair and silk stockings. In Georgia, the Federalist party had been dead since 1800.⁴⁴

In the third week of August⁴⁵ this embryo national convention met in New-York. Its existence even could not be guessed from Federalist journals, but the coming together of so many noted Federalists did not escape the vigilant eyes of the Democratic press.⁴⁶ Where the sessions were held can only be a matter of conjecture. Representatives were present from eight states: New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina.⁴⁷ Rhode Island was unable to send a delegate, because no one could be spared from the state campaign that was then going on.⁴⁸ Delaware was unrepresented on account of Bayard's opposition to the meeting; New Jersey for unexplained reasons. The number and the personnel of the members is also largely a matter of conjecture; but it is certain that Massachusetts sent three members of the central committee, Otis, Gore, and Lloyd;⁴⁹ Thomas Fitzsimons and Hare⁵⁰ were among

⁴³ "With the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee we have no means of Communication. We have been informed, that a few Votes may be secured in those States by the Attention of Influential Characters in the State of South Carolina. This Suggestion is respectfully submitted to the Consideration of our Friends in Charleston—Urging and entreating them to lose no Time in adopting every proper and effectual Measure for communicating with those States, and to spare no Exertions to secure to our Candidates at least a Portion of the Votes of those States. We also rely with Confidence on your Attention to our Friends in North Carolina—their Distance prevents any safe and timely Correspondence with them on our Part." New York Federalist Committee to Charleston Federalist Committee, September, 1808. Otis MSS.

⁴⁴ U. B. Phillips, *Report of the American Historical Association*, 1901, II. 92.

⁴⁵ The third Monday in August, the 15th, was the date agreed upon beforehand, but it is probable that the first session was not held until the latter part of the week, as Cabot is still writing to Otis his final arguments for Clinton on the 14th, and no comments on the meeting appear in newspapers before the 20th (N. Y. *Public Advertiser*).

⁴⁶ "On Friday last, a detachment from the Essex Junto passed through Hartford, on their way to New-York, there, by agreement, to meet the other 'choice spirits', for the purpose of appointing a KING to rule over us." Boston *Independent Chronicle*, August 22. "Federal Delegates from the eastern and southern states have arrived in this city. It is said that the long protracted COMPROMISE is about to take place, in order to give a 'successor' to Mr. Jefferson!" *Ibid.*, quoting the N. Y. *Public Advertiser*.

⁴⁷ "The States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland were severally represented at those Deliberations, as was likewise the State of South Carolina by our respected Friend John Rutledge, Esquire of your City." New York Committee to Charleston Committee, September, 1808. Otis MSS.

⁴⁸ George Cabot to Otis, August 14, 1808.

⁴⁹ George Cabot to Timothy Pickering, August 10, 1808. H. C. Lodge, *George Cabot*, p. 397.

⁵⁰ Fitzsimons to Otis, October 4, 1808. "When we separated at New York."

the Pennsylvania delegation; Josiah Dunham⁵¹ came from Vermont; and John Rutledge, from South Carolina.⁵² The total number could not have been more than twenty-five or thirty. The great handicap to a wider representation was undoubtedly the expense and time necessary at that period for a journey to New York—Rutledge's presence was due to the fact that he always spent his summers in Newport. Of the method of choosing delegates we have no direct evidence, but there can be no doubt that they were selected by the exclusive committees formed in the different states as indicated by Hare's and Benson's letters.

In composition, as in objects, the resemblance of the 1808 convention to that of 1812 is striking. The latter was attended by over seventy delegates, but the sectional representation was the same as in 1808. Delegates were present from the three northern states which failed to take part in 1808, but in both conventions the West was unrepresented, and the South only by Maryland and South Carolina. In neither was any attempt made to limit the size of the delegations.⁵³ Both were representative only of the party leaders,⁵⁴ and both were intended to be kept secret from the mass of voters.

Of the proceedings of the 1808 convention, we know no more than the bare result, but the whole question between supporting Clinton and making separate nominations was so thoroughly threshed out in the correspondence preceding the convention, that we may fairly assume the line of argument that led to the rejection of the project of coalition.⁵⁵ The question was simply one of

⁵¹ Cabot to Otis, August 14, "Mr. Bigelow has a letter from Mr. Dunham on his way to meet you" (Otis was already in New York). Josiah Dunham was a Vermont Federalist, who afterward tried to get into the Hartford Convention, but was refused admittance on account of some irregularity about his credentials.

⁵² Besides the above, we may reasonably assume the presence of R. G. Harper from Maryland, and of the New York Federalists who afterward appeared as the central committee; namely, Jacob Radcliff, J. Ogden Hoffman, Cadwalader D. Colden, and Samuel Jones, jr. We have the very untrustworthy authority of "Thraso" in Duane's *Aurora* of August 31, that Gouverneur Morris acted as chairman.

⁵³ J. S. Murdock, in *AM. HIST. REV.*, I. 682; B. C. Steiner, *James McHenry*, pp. 583-586.

⁵⁴ The Massachusetts delegation in 1808, and a few of the others, were representatives of the majorities in the state legislatures, but judging from the Massachusetts methods, they must have passed through as many successive winnowings as a French Senator of the Consulate. Mr. Murdock's inference that the New York delegates to the 1812 convention were elected by a state convention (*AM. HIST. REV.*, I. 682), is not justified by the authorities to which he refers, and the proceedings of the state convention (at Albany, September 17-18) make no reference to such a delegation. *N. Y. Evening Post*, September 25, 1812.

⁵⁵ Richard Hildreth, who heard of the convention either from Republican newspapers or Federalist tradition, is probably the originator of a statement

expediency. Were the Federalists strong enough to elect their own candidates? If not, would Clinton bring the party enough votes to ensure victory? Would the election of Clinton benefit the Federalists in any case? These are the questions the pro and con of which were discussed down to the eve of the convention, and there is no reason to suppose that the final decision was reached from any different data. The Federalist correspondence is again our only source, for the Federalist press kept silence on this as on other matters connected with the nomination.⁵⁶

The chief support of the Clinton coalition came from Boston. Otis, whose eloquence, it is said, turned the balance in favor of DeWitt Clinton in the Federalist convention of 1812,⁵⁷ was equally strong in favor of George Clinton in 1808. Another powerful advocate of coalition was George Cabot. Cabot since 1804 had occupied in his party a position similar to that of Jefferson in the Republican party after 1808. From Brookline, as from Monticello, the active party leaders received letters that spoke with authority. Easily the intellectual leader of his party since the death of Hamilton, George Cabot in his study at Brookline saw what no other Federalist had the wisdom to see, that a page of democratic evolution had been turned, and the days of Federalist ascendancy had passed never to return. He writes Otis,⁵⁸ already on his way to New York, that it is useless to attempt the election of a Federalist president—the Democrats are in a majority, and:

I find from Dr. M⁵⁹ that Mr. R and other respectable Federalists have often declared their doubts of the utility of a Federal President in the

(*United States*, VI. 94), since repeated and enlarged upon, that the proposed coalition failed because DeWitt Clinton did not reply satisfactorily to overtures of the Federalists. (J. B. McMaster, *United States*, III. 317; H. Adams, *United States*, IV. 284; DeA. S. Alexander, *Political History of New York*, I. 166.) Such was the rumor stated by the *Aurora*, August 31, N. Y. *Public Advertiser*, August 29, *Washington Monitor*, September 5, 1808. There is no evidence among existing correspondence that overtures of any sort to DeWitt Clinton were even contemplated; there is every evidence that the question was decided on entirely different grounds. In 1812, however, definite assurances were received from DeWitt Clinton before the convention of that year met. King, *Rufus King*, V. 264-271. No reference to the Federalists is made in the letters of 1808 between George and DeWitt Clinton that have been preserved (Library of Columbia University).

⁵⁶ I have noticed but one discussion, from the Federalist point of view, of the nomination question in a Federalist newspaper (*New York Review*, quoted in the *Boston Gazette*, July 4 and 7). The Boston Federalist newspapers in June and July published a number of articles commending the character of George Clinton—thus reflecting the views of their leaders—but they do not venture to discuss the question of the nominations.

⁵⁷ William Sullivan, *Public Men of the Revolution*, pp. 350-351, n.

⁵⁸ Cabot to Otis, two letters of August 14, 1808.

⁵⁹ Probably Dr. J. M. Mason of New York.

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shameful state to which our affairs have been brought⁶⁰—but there is a great difference of opinion between them and me on the final effect of Jeffn and Madn continuing at the head 4 years more. they believe the evils that wou'd be produced by protracting the period of their mal-administration wou'd make madmen wise; we think it wou'd make wise men mad. to me it seems incredible that the *many* will ever from a sense of their own abuse of power *voluntarily* transfer it to those over whom they have been exercising it. if there are sufferings they will chiefly be ours, or if universal they whose vice and folly produce them will never ascribe those sufferings to their own misconduct. If however Discontent demands a change it will be made in favor of the most turbulent who in such times are exclusively heard. I think the quietude of the Community under the Embargo laws with the extraordinary Rescripts that followed, furnishes the amplest proof of Mr. Jefferson's absolute power. . . . The people will adhere to those who are the instruments of their passions, and will shun those who wou'd controul them.

Cabot believed that Clinton would reverse the policy of Jefferson, and that his election should be sought as the greatest attainable good. The correspondence indicates, however, that the decisive element in the discussion was the practical question, whether Clinton could carry Pennsylvania. Down to the middle of July it seemed probable that he could. Early in 1808 the alliance between the Federalists and Constitutional (conservative) Republicans of Pennsylvania, which had supported the administrations of McKean, broke up. The Constitutionals, eager to anticipate the Conventionals (radicals), in the favor of the administration, held a caucus at Lancaster, early in March, nominated Spayd for governor, and an electoral ticket pledged to vote for Madison. Shortly afterwards the Conventionals, headed by Duane and Leib, called a mixed legislative caucus, nominated Simon Snyder for governor, and a second Republican electoral ticket—unpledged, but apparently intended to vote for Clinton.⁶¹ As there seemed to be some doubt about this, a convention of Snyderite delegates from the towns of Northumberland County held on June 28, and controlled by two strong Clinton Democrats, Samuel Maclay and William Montgomery, tried to force the hand of their party by resolving to support the Conventionalist electoral ticket, on the understanding

⁶⁰ Cf. James A. Bayard to Hamilton, April 25, 1802. "Let us not be too impatient, and our adversaries will soon demonstrate to the world the soundness of our doctrines, and the imbecility and folly of their own. Without any exertion upon our part, in the course of two or three years they will render every honest man in the country our proselyte." (Hamilton's *Works*, 1851 ed., VI. 544.) Fisher Ames writes in 1801: "The feds maintain twenty opinions, the best of which is quite enough to ruin any party. 'Let the people run themselves out of breath—all will come right. There is no occasion for us to do anything'." J. H. Morison, *Jeremiah Smith*, p. 231.

⁶¹ W. M. Meigs, "Pennsylvania Politics early in this Century", in *Pa. Mag.*, XVII. 462-490; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, p. 92.

that its vote would be cast for Clinton.⁶² This looked as if Clinton could carry Pennsylvania with the aid of the Federalists, and the Philadelphia Federalists were almost converted to the coalition,⁶³ when the real leaders of the Conventionalist party, Duane and Leib, came out for Madison in an unmistakable manner. In an *Address to the Citizens of Pennsylvania*,⁶⁴ they rebuked the Democrats of Northumberland County for their endorsement of Clinton, asserted that the Lancaster electoral ticket would vote for Madison, and eventually patched up a truce with the Conservative wing of their party.⁶⁵ By the time that the Federalist convention met in New York, Democratic harmony in Pennsylvania was complete, and it was obvious that Clinton's independent strength outside New York was nil.

That Clinton could carry New York state, with Federalist aid, was certain. Were, however, nineteen electoral votes worth the abandonment of principle that a coalition with Clinton would imply? One of the traditional principles of the Federalist party was that only within its ranks could be found men competent to govern the country. The nomination of Clinton would be a frank admission to the contrary. Judge Theodore Sedgwick wrote on this aspect of the question to Otis on June 6:

It is of infinite importance that the leading federalists should conduct in such manner as to convince the publick that they are actuated by principle. This, I imagine, can hardly be the case unless they act by themselves, and keep themselves separate from the differant parties into which their adversaries are divided. . . . I cannot endure the humiliating idea that those who alone from education, fortune, character and principle are entitled to command should voluntarily arrange themselves under the banners of a party in all respects inferior, and in many odious, to them.

It was distance as well as expediency that lent enchantment to the view of an alliance with Clinton. The New York Federalists would have none of him. "We have condescended twice to tamper with Democratic Candidates",⁶⁶ writes Abraham Van Vechten to

⁶² The resolutions are printed in the *Boston Columbian Centinel*, July 20, 1808 (quoted from *U. S. Gazette*).

⁶³ Hare to Otis, July 12, 1808.

⁶⁴ *Address of the State Committee of Correspondence to the Citizens of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1808); also in the *Aurora*, August 8. Duane, Leib, and Leiper were members of this committee, which was appointed by the mixed caucus at Lancaster. The Federalists charged that this move was caused by the army appointment of Duane early in July, but the *Aurora* was strongly Madisonian some months previous. See also Duane's letters to Madison and Jefferson, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, second series, XX. 308-311.

⁶⁵ In the meetings at the Rising Sun Tavern, August 13 and 24. Meigs, p. 478.

⁶⁶ Burr and Lewis.

Otis,⁶⁷ "and in both instances have been subjected to severe self-reproach. Our experimental knowledge of the Clintonian System is a powerful Antidote against affording it any facility here." He and his friends saw nothing to choose between George Clinton and James Madison.

For the reasons given, then—the weakness of Clinton, and the fact that his nomination, while helping the Federalists little or none, would injure their party character—the New York convention decided to place Federalist candidates in nomination. Their decision was announced to the Charleston Federalists in the following words:

After several Meetings, and after the most mature and dispassionate Consideration of the Subject, we formed a conclusive opinion, as to the Line of Conduct most proper for the Federal Party to observe. It was decided to be our Correct and dignified Policy to afford neither Aid nor Countenance, direct or indirect, to any of our political opponents, but, holding ourselves perfectly distinct, to nominate Federal Characters for the offices of President and Vice President, and to support them, with our uniform, zealous, and vigorous exertions. . . . Having decided on the Measure, no difference of opinion could exist as to the Selection of Candidates, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for the office of President, and Rufus King for the office of Vice President, became without the least Hesitation our Choice.⁶⁸

This was the same ticket as in 1804. The choice of Pinckney was due to his high character and reputation of patriotism, to the hope of capturing his native state, and to the wish of avoiding the stigma of sectionalism, of which political parties in the United States have always been remarkably sensitive. He was distinctly the most "available" candidate.⁶⁹

The above letter shows conclusively that the convention carried out the purpose for which it was summoned, and made a definite nomination of president and vice-president. This was not done in 1812. The convention of that year broke up after registering a simple *vau* in favor of DeWitt Clinton, leaving the real decision

⁶⁷ July 21, 1808. Van Vechten was a leader of the Federalists in the assembly; see index to DeA. S. Alexander, *Political History of New York*.

⁶⁸ Letter of New York Federalist Committee of Correspondence (which was evidently appointed by the convention to a position corresponding to the modern Committee on Notifications), to the Charleston Federalist committee, September, 1808. Manuscript copy enclosed in letter of October 9 from the New York committee to the Boston committee.

⁶⁹ D. Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, II. 442. The only indication of any opposition to Pinckney's nomination, when once Clinton was ruled out, is a statement of Christopher Gore, in his letter of June 16 to Rufus King, to the effect that "Our Gentlemen are anxious to support a federal candidate, and that from New York, instead of from S. Carolina; provided there is the least probability of Success." King, *Rufus King*, V. 101.

to a committee that was to sit in Philadelphia and continue the correspondence.⁷⁰

Having summoned and carried on the convention in secret, it was necessary to be extremely discreet in announcing its nomination. The original plan for the public nomination, and the reasons for making an eleventh-hour change, are given in the following letter of October 4, from Thomas Fitzsimons of Philadelphia to Gore, Otis, and Lloyd, the Massachusetts delegation:

When we seperated at New York, it was understood, that the result of our Conference, should not be made public, until, the event of the Election in Pennsylv.⁷¹ should be known, and until the Conferees⁷² from that State, should deem a publication of it proper.

Circumstances have since Occurred, which in their opinion rendered any publication of that Kind Inexpedient, and led them to conclude that the safer Course, would be to leave our friends in each state to Announce the Candidates to their fellow Citizens, at such time, and in such way as they should themselves think best. We were Led to this conclusion, from having observed something like a Jealousy, in our friends at having a Nomination so Important decided on by so small a No. as we were, and without any Special authority for the purpose, for altho there appears to be no division of sentiment thr'out the state, as to the Candidates, yet it was deemed most prudent that it should appear rather the result of General sentiment than as the Choice of a few to bind their party. to this effect, I wrote our friends at New York, still considering ourselves bound to conform to what they and our Eastern friends should recommend. the Gent at New York appear to think as we do—and that you may be consulted, I send this unsealed to them.

Further explanation is given in a letter of the Philadelphia committee, to that of New York, quoted in a letter of the latter to the Massachusetts committee:

⁷⁰ Robert G. Harper, one of the delegates in 1812, wrote September 25 of that year, "The meeting resolved not to recommend the support of Mr. Clinton. It was thought best to take a course somewhat different. they resolved that it appeared impracticable to elect and was, therefore, inexpedient to propose, a federal Candidate; and that it should be recommended to the federalists throughout the United States, to exert themselves in the approaching Election of Electors, to procure the choice of such persons, as will be most likely to effect by their votes a change in the present course of public Measures, They then appointed a Committee, to collect and disseminate information on the Subject. The Committee sits in Philadelphia. . . . We do not stand committed to Mr. Clinton. He and his friends must therefore do all in their power to convince us, that he deserves the preference, in other words, that we may expect from him a different course of measures, or else we may drop them and try the effect of submitting four years longer to Madison, in hopes of a complete cure in that time. We may even bring forward a federal Candidate, should any thing occur to warrant the attempt." B. C. Steiner, *James McHenry*, pp. 585-586, confirmed by a letter of October 22, 1812, from another delegate, George Tibbitts, to H. G. Otis. It must be remembered that the account of the 1812 convention, in William Sullivan's *Public Men of the Revolution*, p. 350, was written many years later from oral tradition.

⁷¹ The state election, in October.

⁷² Meaning probably the Philadelphia committee which had been formed in June.

We were influenced to this determination by a very general disapprobation expressed by our friends of the Caucus at Washington and what we experienced in our State canvass. Considerate people are convinced that measures must be digested by the few, nevertheless among the mass each is desirous that he should be one of the number. It was therefore judged most advisable that our friends in each State should set on foot their canvass in the way they should deem most eligible.⁷³

The frankness of these letters makes comment almost superfluous—but the writer cannot help pointing out how the secret methods of the Federalists are beginning to react upon themselves. When we recall the method by which the Philadelphia committee (which undoubtedly chose the delegates to New York) was formed, by convening “about a dozen” of “our active, firm, and discreet friends”, the “Jealousy” of the outsiders is not surprising.

After quoting the above letter, the New York committee continues:

In consequence of this we have no expectation of any public nomination in Philadelphia and considering it important to be made without delay, we think that Massachusetts is not only entitled to originate the measure, but that coming from that quarter it would produce the greatest sensibility and interest in its favor, particularly in this State. We therefore submit to the consideration of our friends in your State the propriety of immediately proceeding to make the nomination in the manner which shall appear to them the most advantageous and impressive. In this State it will instantly be repeated and supported as far as we are able, and we have no doubt it will be followed by our political friends in every other State. We are satisfied it would not produce so good an effect to commence this business here and there are also local considerations which induce us not to wish to originate the nomination. We can give no certain assurance of supporting it by the vote of this State and if we were to begin this measure it might excite irritation and increase the difficulty of obtaining the aid of either section of the opposite party among us, on which our hopes as to this State at present depend. The latter consideration with us is important and we flatter ourselves you will unite in the opinion that it is most expedient for Massachusetts to begin the nomination, the success of which alone, we think can save our Country from disastrous events.

The Massachusetts committee apparently accepted the responsibility thus thrust upon them. In the *New England Palladium* and the *Repertory* of October 18 appears the formal announcement:

We have the satisfaction to learn, from information collected from every part of the Union, that one common sentiment prevails among the Federalists, with respect to Candidates for the two first offices in the National Government, and that the men selected by the approving voice

⁷³ “To the Honble Harrison G. Otis Esquire and the Gentlemen of the Federal Committee in Boston”, October 9, 1808. Signed “Jacob Radcliff

Jos: Ogden Hoffman
Cadwalader D. Colden
S. Jones Junr.”

of the whole *American party*, to preserve the Union, and to prevent a calamitous war, are for President, the Hon. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, for Vice President, the Hon. Rufus King, of New York. In *Massachusetts* a formal nomination of these great patriots has been delayed for the sole purpose of collecting the sentiments of the great body of Federalists—the TRUE AMERICANS⁷⁴ in other States. It being now ascertained, that among these there exists but one opinion; Massachusetts will obey the dictates of her own inclination, while she conforms to the wishes of her sister States, in supporting the above Candidates; and our friends in these States may rest assured, that the characters of the men and the dangers of the country will ensure unanimity without the aid of any Caucus, or other preliminary.

This deceptive statement was the official announcement of the presidential nomination—two or three weeks only before the choice of electors. The nomination was already generally known, however. On October 12 the *New York Evening Post*, impatient perhaps at the delay, announced it as coming from “several respectable sources”, and the *Charleston Courier* had made it known at least a month before.⁷⁵ It had been noted by the principal Republican newspapers,⁷⁶ but was not copied into Federalist journals until after the publication by the *Evening Post* and the Boston papers.

A description of the campaign of 1808 is beyond the scope of this article. Until the October state elections in New Jersey and Pennsylvania went against them, the Federalists were sanguine of success, but after that their only hope was a forlorn one—of converting the hostile majority in the New York legislature, and of carrying South Carolina. In the latter state the Federalists gave Charles Pinckney the hardest struggle of his political career,⁷⁷ but the Re-

⁷⁴ Robert Troup writes Rufus King, April 11, 1807, “Would not this be a favorable occasion for our party to assume a popular and significant name, free from the hobgoblins attached by many to Federalism?” (King, *Rufus King*, V. 31.) In the election of 1808, the term “Federalist” or even “Federal Republican” was seldom attached to a ticket. Combinations of the terms True American, Anti-Embargo, Free Trade, Washingtonian, Anti-Caucus, were generally used.

⁷⁵ As early as August 19 the *Courier* announces that “General Pinckney will be supported . . . by the *Washington Republicans*, and many moderate Democrats to the Northward and Eastward”. On September 8, “Our worthy fellow citizen and enlightened patriot, Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, has been nominated, in several of the Northern papers”; October 3, “We are authorized to say that . . . Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of this state will be supported by the Federal Republicans throughout the several States” (written probably after receipt of the letter from the New York committee).

⁷⁶ E. g., *Boston Independent Chronicle*, September 12; *National Intelligencer*, September 14. John Adams knew of Pinckney’s nomination on September 27. *Correspondence between John Adams and William Cunningham*, p. 28.

⁷⁷ Charles Pinckney to Madison, October 12, 1808; to Jefferson, October 23, 1808. Madison and Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress.

publicans secured an overwhelming majority in the legislature, which chose electors. Vermont and Maryland also disappointed the Federalists, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney secured only 47 electoral votes to Madison's 122. This was a notable increase over the fourteen votes of 1804; it began a brief Federalist Renaissance which lasted until 1815.

The student of this period cannot fail to be impressed by the subordinate rôle which Pinckney's name played in the campaign, even in the last three weeks of it, after his nomination was formally announced. Many of the leading Federalist journals, including the Boston *Columbian Centinel*, never even published the nomination. The casual reader of these newspapers would scarcely know whom the Federalists had chosen for their leader, were it not for the frequent contrast of Pinckney's oft-quoted words, "Millions for defense, and not one cent for tribute", with Madison's "France wants money and must have it". The Republican party, on the contrary, made the record and character of Madison one of their leading issues. This extraordinary neglect of their candidate is probably due to the fact that the Federalists when nominating Pinckney at New York did not altogether give up the idea of swinging over their electoral votes at the eleventh hour if George Clinton developed any unexpected strength. Otis, apparently, threatened to bolt the convention's nomination within two weeks after it was made. Hare writes him, September 6, reiterating the arguments against supporting Clinton, and urging him "not to set things afloat, *unless you can certainly elect Clinton*". An attempt was made by Theophilus Parsons to seduce the Connecticut legislature into the same course.⁷⁸ In Rhode Island, no public announcement of Pinckney's nomination was made;⁷⁹ it was urged in favor of the members of the Federalist electoral ticket that they were "not pledged to vote for any candidate. Those who advocate their election confide it to their Wisdom, and integrity."⁸⁰ The significance of the Rhode Islanders' move is explained by a letter of James B. Mason of Providence,⁸¹ written after the Federalist electors had been chosen, urging that the entire electoral vote be swung over to Clinton, in the hope of choosing him president as the "least of two evils".

Such were the objects, the composition, and the results of this first of national party conventions. Altogether it was an assembly

⁷⁸ Rufus King to Christopher Gore, September 27, 1808. King, *Rufus King*, V. 104.

⁷⁹ Not, at any rate, in the three Federalist newspapers of Providence.

⁸⁰ *An Address to the Citizens of Rhode Island, on the Choice of Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States* (Providence, November, 1808), pp. 13-14. Also in the Providence *Rhode-Island American*, November 17.

⁸¹ To Otis, November 21, 1808.

typical of the Federalist party. A few well-born and congenial gentlemen, who could afford the time and expense of travel, were chosen by their friends to settle in a quiet and leisurely manner the questions that agitated their party. From the body of voters neither authority nor advice was asked, and profound secrecy sheltered the convention's deliberations from vulgar scrutiny. The New York convention of 1808, like all Federalist machinery of the period, was based on the right of the leading men in the party to settle nominations and party business without the slightest co-operation of the people. The voter's advice is not asked, but his implicit obedience is required. He is to vote for candidates nominated he knows not how, because it is thought best by "those who alone from education, fortune, character and principle are entitled to command". Herein lay one of the fundamental principles of the Federalist party, and, in the writer's opinion, the chief cause of its failure. The Federalist machinery failed for the same reason that the entire party failed: it sought to suppress and to curb public opinion rather than to guide and lead it,³² and the people preferred "those who are the instruments of their passions" to "those who wou'd controul them". The secret national party convention, representing only the leaders, passed out of existence with the Federalists. It remained for Democratic politicians of the thirties, with improved methods of communication, and fatter campaign chests, to discover that a national convention of delegates, chosen by the body of voters, was the most effective method of nominating a president.

SAMUEL E. MORISON.

³² Noah Webster wrote Rufus King, July 6, 1807, "They have attempted to resist the force of a current popular opinion, instead of falling into the current with a view to direct it." King, *Rufus King*, V. 37-38.

LORD ASHBURTON AND THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON

A CLEAR, straightforward narrative of the steps of the treaty of Washington, it is exceedingly difficult to give. Too many disturbing questions were to be disposed of. Certain stipulated points were to be settled, others not stipulated demanded equal consideration, and each point in turn called for a careful examination into earlier events. Thus the study jumps from the negotiation in progress to causes and events of many years earlier, or to an investigation of existing conditions or contemporary events which require a detailed rehearsing. Further, first instructions were followed by others, letters and protests between the Foreign Secretary and his agent crossed each other in transit, while unexpected hindrances developed to hamper the American representative. Nevertheless, it seems worth while to bring forward the new light upon the Ashburton negotiation, with such brevity as shall eliminate the non-essentials and give only proportionate space to the matters engrossing the attention of the agents.

The chief business of the treaty was the determining, to the satisfaction of both countries, a boundary line which for sixty years had been undecided, and for at least twenty years in active dispute. When Lord Ashburton was selected by the British government for this duty, his appointment was hailed both in England and in the United States as especially felicitous. There were indeed those in England who doubted the virility and energy of a man of his advanced years, while in America a truculent democratic press discovered grounds for suspicion in Ashburton's reputation as a financier. In spite, however, of these somewhat feeble criticisms, his selection was considered proof of a genuine desire on the part of England to negotiate upon a sincere and friendly basis. This belief gained still wider credence when Webster, the American secretary of state, stated that Ashburton had come to Washington without instructions and with full powers. It is quite possible that Ashburton, upon his arrival, believed himself to be without instructions, and may have so stated to Webster at Washington in April of 1842. He brought with him from England merely a general outline of the main purposes of the negotiation, drawn up by Aberdeen; to this was appended a "last resort" clause on the northeastern boundary question, deemed so

acceptable to the United States as to make the success of the negotiation seem assured. But some weeks later new and positive instructions, including certain restrictions, were sent from the British Foreign Office—threefold evidence of a more minute consideration, of more exact knowledge, and also of a greater appreciation of the demands of the colonies in America. These later official instructions show clearly Great Britain's desires in the negotiation, and are of especial interest when compared with the ultimate terms of the treaty of Washington of 1842. Very few of the despatches between Aberdeen and Ashburton have as yet appeared in print; and the more important of them are summarized here. They should reveal Ashburton's exact status as a negotiator extraordinary, England's hopes from the treaty, the actual results, and the explanation of the seemingly extraneous matters embedded in the treaty, or appended to it in the form of notes.¹

The northeastern frontier question had made practically no headway since the award of the King of the Netherlands, in 1831, declaring that the terms of the treaty of 1783 were impossible under actual physiographic conditions, and recommending an equitable division of the territory in dispute. This award had been accepted by Great Britain and rejected by the United States. Later, Great Britain withdrew her assent and the boundary question was no more nearly settled than before, but owing to England's consideration and rejection of the Dutch king's terms, became an even more delicate matter. With Palmerston in control of foreign affairs, courteous argument had given place to sharp rejoinder, and Aberdeen certainly felt when he took office in 1841 that the matter constituted a genuine danger in British foreign policy. Another sore point with Americans was the *Caroline* incident during the Canadian rebellion. An American vessel, the *Caroline*, in December, 1837, had been carrying supplies and volunteers from the American side to the rebel camp at Navy Island, on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, just above the falls. On the night of December 29, a body of Canadians seized her while at anchor on the American side, towed her into midstream, and set her on fire and adrift. This was regarded

¹ The official printed sources on the negotiation of the treaty of Washington, with text of the treaty and of notes appended to it, are to be found in *House Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 27 Cong., 3 sess., and in *British Sessional Papers*, 1843, *Commons*, vol. LXI. In addition to these, Ashburton's instructions on the Oregon boundary are in *House Ex. Doc. 1*, pt. 1 (vol. I., pt. 6), p. 218, 42 Cong., 3 sess. (*Berlin Arbitration*, 1872-1873.) Narratives of the negotiation and its results appear in all the larger American histories, while an excellent summary with citation of important printed documents is in Moore's *Digest of International Law*, vol. V. The additional manuscript material used in this article is in the British Public Record Office, under the classification, Foreign Office, America.

by the United States as an invasion of territory and an explanation was demanded, but none was immediately forthcoming from the British government. In the capture of the *Caroline* at least one American had been killed, and when, in November, 1840, a Canadian named McLeod came into New York state and boasted of sharing in the *Caroline* affair, he was arrested and tried for murder. McLeod, it was ultimately proved, had lied and he was accordingly released. The trial, however, had again focused public attention upon the *Caroline* affair, had fanned into flame the suppressed indignation, and this only a few months before Ashburton's arrival. There had been intense public excitement and a real danger of war. The *Caroline* incident could neither be forgotten nor ignored, and though more than four years had passed, the government of the United States still looked for an explanation or an apology. In addition to this grievance was the always vexing assertion by England of the right to search (or, as the English called it, the "right to visit") American vessels. The British claim of a right to "visit", though in practice now wholly confined to suspected slave-traders, aroused indignation in all quarters.

With these points in mind, Aberdeen on February 8, 1842, drew up the instructions which Ashburton carried with him to America, and which for some time he regarded as his only official guide in the negotiation.² Clearly, from the language and content of this document, he was entitled to believe that he had practically a free hand. Aberdeen had merely indicated in general terms the purposes of the mission, specifying them as of importance in the order named, north-eastern boundary, Oregon boundary, northwestern boundary, *Caroline* incident, and "right of search". He desired, if possible, to secure a treaty covering all of these points, but both from the instructions and from the accompanying documents it is evident that emphasis was placed upon the northeastern boundary controversy, and it was rather hoped than expected that a settlement would be made of some of the other questions. In regard to the Maine boundary, three solutions were permitted to Ashburton: (a) the whole British claim, (b) a conventional line which would give Great Britain both the upper and lower Madawaska settlements, and preserve to her the whole navigable portion of the river St. John, (c) the line of boundary "contained in the Award of the King of the Netherlands. . . . This line, although highly unfavourable and disadvantageous to our interests, we should not be disposed to reject, with certain modifications as the basis of settlement; but beyond

² F. O., America, 378, no. 2. Merely a brief extract from these instructions, on the right of search, is in the *Br. Sess. Paps.*, 1843, *Commons*, vol. LXI.

this, Her Majesty's Government would not be prepared under any circumstances to concede." The documents do not indicate just what "modifications" of the Netherlands award were desired, nor do they refer to that part of the award which, by departing from the strict terms of the treaty of 1783, permitted the United States to retain possession of Rouse's Point, at the head of Lake Champlain. There was, in reality, no British expectation that the "whole claim" could be secured, and Ashburton was directed to use all his energy to secure the line indicated in the second solution. Unquestionably, however, it was within his power to sign a treaty on the line of the Netherlands award, if forced to do so.

Other topics included in this broad instruction received comparatively little attention at the Foreign Office. The affair of the *Caroline* was included, not because any definite settlement was proposed, but in order to *explain* the incident, and in an indirect way to apologize for it, on the ground of the necessity of self-defense. Aberdeen's purpose in this regard was to eliminate a possible cause of friction dangerous to an equitable conclusion of the northeastern boundary. He did indeed apologize for the delay in expressing to the United States regret for the necessity of the act, and he added, "The violation of the independent jurisdiction of the United States . . . Her Majesty's Gov't regard in a very serious point of view. So far are they from thinking that an event of this kind can be lightly risked, they would rather deprecate its recurrence by every means in their power." Turning to the vexed question of the right of search or visit, Aberdeen apparently felt that there was little hope of a satisfactory solution. The result of much previous diplomatic correspondence had only served to make clear that neither nation would yield her point. Aberdeen denied that Great Britain claimed any "right to search" American vessels, but insisted that the "right to visit" was quite a different matter, and that while English naval officers were instructed to use it with delicacy "the right itself, being manifestly founded on justice and common sense, they [Her Majesty's government] are determined to maintain". In effect, the instructions on this point were mainly a warning to Ashburton not to consider any suggestions of concession by Great Britain. On the other hand, there was apparently no expectation that the United States would give way.³

³ This is in clear contradiction of the statement made by Aberdeen to Everett, when, in explaining the purposes of the Ashburton mission, he stated that he regarded a solution of the right of search difficult as "the most important of all". Everett to Webster, December 31, 1841. *Br. Sess. Paps.*, 1843, *Commons*, LXI., Correspondence on the Treaty of Washington, p. 15. Either this was a blind, or Aberdeen changed his mind before Ashburton's departure, for certainly at no time during the negotiation did he appear to believe any agreement probable.

Thus Ashburton left England with a comparatively free hand in the essentials of the negotiation. After his departure, it is evident that more serious consideration was given to the boundary question, and particularly to the necessity of preserving the military road connecting Quebec and Halifax. This was no new matter, for direct military communication between Canada and New Brunswick had for many years been insisted upon by military experts and colonial governors. Indeed, in 1828, while preparing the English case to be submitted to the King of the Netherlands, a genuine dispute arose between the experts of the Colonial and Foreign offices on this very point.⁴ The Foreign Office believed the demands of the Colonial Office extreme. It is quite possible that, in 1842, Aberdeen was in similar fashion forced by the Colonial Office to make claims with which he personally had little sympathy. Whatever the cause, whether from colonial or military officials, the new instructions to Ashburton, sent on March 31, 1842, bore directly on the military road. Aberdeen wrote:

MY LORD,

The instructions which Your Lordship has already received will be sufficient for the general direction of your conduct in the negotiation with which you are charged, for the settlement of our various subjects of difference with the Government of the United States. But you have also been apprised that the views of Her Majesty's Govt. respecting the establishment of the North-East Boundary had not been fully and definitely explained; nor those terms especially, clearly laid down, without obtaining which, a rupture of the negotiations would be regarded as preferable to further concession. In order to leave Your Ld no longer in uncertainty upon this subject, I have now the honour to communicate to you the final Instructions of Her Majesty's Govt.

As it is the firm determination of Her Majesty to preserve the dominion of our North American Provinces, it follows that all necessary Precautions must be taken to ensure the success of this resolution. Admitting therefore, the principle of a conventional Line, to be agreed upon by a mutual concession of the extreme claims of both the Parties, there is a limit, beyond which a regard for the safety of these Provinces must forbid us to recede.

The geographical features of the Country appear to offer no natural frontier, or strong line of defence; and the most indispensable condition for the security of our North American Possessions is to be found in a direct and constant communication between Quebec and the Sea at the Port of Halifax, through the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova

⁴ F. O., Am., 253, "Canning, Douglas, Addington, etc. on N. E. Boundary." This volume is largely devoted to a discussion of documents and arguments to be presented to the arbiter, and exhibits a marked disagreement between experts, both as to the claim to be presented and as to arguments in support of it. Colonial Office papers, unlike the Foreign Office papers, were not open to search after 1830, at the time when the author was working in the Record Office (1908). They have since been opened to 1837.

Scotia, during that period of the year when the St. Lawrence is rendered inaccessible. The line of communication at present runs from Fredericton through the valley of the St. John by the Great Falls, to the Madawaska River. From thence by Lake Temiscouta and Grand Portage to the St. Lawrence.

It is deemed essential that this Line should be preserved.

Her Majesty's Government trust that the information which has recently been obtained by a scientific examination of the disputed Territory, and the Light which has been thrown on the subject by the discovery and production of important documents connected with the negotiations for the peace of 1783, will have produced their effect in the United States. Indeed it is difficult to believe that with the assistance thus afforded, Your Lordship should not be enabled to bring home to the conviction of candid and impartial men a sense of the justice of the claim of Great Britain.

Notwithstanding the reasonableness of this persuasion, H. M. Govt are not ignorant of the pretensions of the United States, or of the manner in which they have been enforced; and having always urged the wisdom and expediency of agreeing to a Conventional Line, to be established upon a principle of mutual concession, they could scarcely now adhere, without any deviation, to the utmost extent of the British Claim put forward under the Treaty of 1783.

Upon this subject you have already received instructions.

It is possible, however, that the Govt of the United States may be determined to revert to the Award of the King of the Netherlands, as the Basis of a Settlement. But it must never be forgotten that this Award was rejected by the United States, and is therefore in no degree whatever binding upon Great Britain. The record of it remains in the Archives of the respective states, and may be referred to as a matter of fact, or in negotiation, but cannot possess any obligatory character. Should you be unable to prevent this determination on the part of the United States, you will at least insist upon taking as a basis the Award pronounced by the King, with the avowed purpose of obtaining that portion of the Territory which is indispensable to our interests, by a cession of such parts as may be made without danger.

The Line laid down by the Royal Arbitrer follows the course of the St. John, as far as the point of junction of that River with the St. Francis. After which, ascending the St. Francis, by a North and Westerly direction, it advances near to the St. Lawrence, and falls into the Line of Boundary claimed by the United States. It thus very materially interferes with the freedom and security of our communications.

The other points submitted to Arbitration, were decided by the King of the Netherlands in favour of the British Govt. The District at the head of Connecticut River was adjudged to Great Britain; as well as a Line of settled Country continued from the head of the Connecticut River along the 45th Parallel of Latitude, until it reaches the St. Lawrence. This Line includes Rous's Point, a very important position on Lake Champlain, which the Govt of the U. States have always shewn a great desire to possess. And although this Point was adjudged by the King of the Netherlands to the U. States, it was so as a matter of compromise, and contrary to the principle of his decision, which recognized the 45th parallel of Latitude as correctly described in the claim of Great Britain.

Now, these latter advantages might safely be ceded, on condition of our obtaining possession of the whole of the Territory between the Upper part of the St. John and the St. Lawrence. That is to say, by making the River St. John from its junction with the St. Francis up to its source in the small Lake of St. John, or the Oostastagomessis of the Indians, the Boundary Line with the United States.

The District thus ceded to us, and now claimed by the United States, would comprise about two millions of Acres, wholly unsettled, and for the most part consisting of Land partaking of the character of a Pine Swamp. But if the Territorial advantages you are enabled to offer on other points of the Line, should not be considered as a just Equivalent for this cession, Her Majesty's Govt would be disposed to indemnify the State of Maine by a pecuniary compensation, to make good the amount of any such deficiency.

From this modification of the Award of the King of the Netherlands, which is considered essential to the security of Canada, H M. Govt would not withhold their assent; But Your Lordship will not consider yourself authorized to entertain the proposition of a settlement upon less favourable terms.⁵

Ashburton reached Washington on April 4, and was soon engaged with Webster in an informal discussion of various matters which it was hoped to incorporate in a treaty. Upon the Maine boundary question it was not at first possible to make much advance, since Maine and Massachusetts were slow in giving Webster authority to act for them. This delay Ashburton regarded as fortunate since it gave opportunity for an amicable and unhurried consideration of other matters. His first reports to Aberdeen were purely perfunctory, and gave no detail. Immediately, however, after receiving the instruction of March 31, Ashburton sent two despatches, both dated April 25.⁶ The first of these, ignoring the new ultimatum from Aberdeen, conveyed a full report of the negotiation to date, was hopeful in tone, and optimistic as to the ultimate conclusion of the mission. The second, acknowledging Aberdeen's advices, was devoted to an analysis of the new instructions, and was distinctly pessimistic. In the first Ashburton asserted that the outlook was favorable to settling *all* of the outstanding points of dispute. The Oregon matter, he thought, could easily be settled, and was really of little importance. "I much doubt whether the Americans will for many years to come make any considerable lodgment on the Pacific." It is not apparent, however, that the Oregon question was at any time under serious consideration in this negotiation.

Another question, that of the *Creole*, though not mentioned in Aberdeen's instructions, was now under discussion by the two diplo-

⁵ F. O., Am., 378, no. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 379, nos. 2 and 3. A brief extract from no. 2, stating the purpose of the joint cruising squadron, is all that was printed in the *Br. Sess. Paps.*, 1843. *Commons*, vol. LXI., Correspondence between Great Britain and the United States, p. 4.

mats, since there was much public excitement about it, and Ashburton felt that it demanded consideration. An American ship, the *Creole*, had sailed from Virginia for Louisiana with a cargo of slaves, but at sea the slaves rose, imprisoned the officers and crew, and took the vessel into the port of Nassau. Here the slaves were given their liberty by British officials. In several previous cases American vessels transporting "domestic" slaves had been driven by stress of weather into British colonial ports, and the slaves freed by colonial officials. In this case "mutiny" was substituted for stress of weather and the slaves compassed their own freedom, without interposition of Providence, depending on the assistance of British colonial officers. The alleged mutiny, a new element in the situation, forced upon Ashburton and Webster a thorough discussion of the relation of British officials and American slave-transfer ships. Subsequently Ashburton expressed to Aberdeen the hope that the British government would concede that in the future ships carrying American slaves should be free from interference in case no slaves had actually set foot on British soil. Security for the future, he wrote, was of more importance to Southern slave owners than compensation for past injuries.

The third matter in these preliminary discussions reported by Ashburton, and in his view by far the most important, was England's insistence upon the right to visit. Yet delicate as the question was, Ashburton was pleasantly confident of greater progress than the home government anticipated, and he counted upon agreeably surprising Aberdeen. Webster had proposed a joint cruising squadron to sail the African coast for the purpose of suppressing the African slave-trade. Though without instructions upon the point, Ashburton was so sure of approval that he had already gone far in the preliminaries of such an arrangement, and wrote that if the plan could be successfully carried out, "I shall consider it to be the very best fruit of this mission". As to the exact relation of this plan to the question of right of search, Ashburton was not explicit.

In the second despatch of this date, however, the prospects seemed far less promising, for Ashburton here turned to the supplementary instructions on the Maine boundary, and professed to find in these a possible, even a probable cause for the failure of the entire negotiation. In the supplementary instructions Aberdeen insisted on the entire territory west of the upper St. John, from the source of that river to the point of its junction with the St. Francis. This was a demand of territory far in excess of the Netherlands award and would have made possible a continuous military road, proceed-

ing from Quebec in a southeasterly direction until it reached the headwaters of the St. John, then following the windings of that river to its entrance into the province of New Brunswick.⁷ The territory thus demanded by Aberdeen was an elongated rectangle, roughly outlined on its longer sides by the upper St. John on the southeast, and by the watershed of the St. Lawrence on the northwest. Ashburton at once recognized in this instruction a new and a serious departure from the plan previously agreed to by Aberdeen. He wrote that it now became necessary "to discuss with Your Lordship the very considerable reduction of the powers previously given to me . . . and to press earnestly upon your consideration whether those limitations . . . are not, if I do not misinterpret them, of a description calculated to expose to failure the whole attempt at negotiation".⁸ He emphasized also the mistake of insisting upon any great modification of the Netherlands award, since for a long time the United States had been most unwilling to accept even the line of that award, and since, also, Great Britain had, at one time at least, acceded to it.

What one should like to have is one thing; but to a compromise there must be two Parties, and our other Party in this case is a jealous, arrogant, democratic Body. You may, it is true, from motives of expediency, refuse to treat; but this Mission in the face of the Publick, implies a readiness to settle differences on terms which reasonable Men shall say are fair and honorable. If I leave this Country throwing all our relations with it into confusion, because I had insisted on a larger portion of this disputed Territory than we had at one period of our Negotiations been willing to accept, and which our Adversary had always refused to give, the consequence could not fail to be that the whole Union would indignantly take part with Maine, and we should pass for a Power having trifled with and insulted the Country.⁹

It is to be remembered that Ashburton, as all his correspondence shows, regarded the Maine boundary as but one of many important questions in negotiation. He now asserted that if the line of the upper St. John were insisted upon, it would wreck the treaty; that the people of the United States were a unit in believing the pretensions of Maine to be just, and in believing also that Great Britain had "set up" a claim, merely to secure a military road. He combated with vigor the influence and arguments of "military experts", whom he believed responsible for Aberdeen's demands. The upper St. John, he argued, was not absolutely essential to a military road.

⁷ The road earlier desired by military experts had crossed the St. John near its source, and then struck directly east across the land south of the St. John toward the nearest point of New Brunswick. Aberdeen, however, evidently considered it useless to attempt to secure any territory south of the St. John.

⁸ Ashburton to Aberdeen, April 25, 1842. *F. O., Am.*, 379, no. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*

He urged rather that the real danger point for the line of communications was in that section where the road ran close to the lower St. John, from the upper Madawaska settlement to the New Brunswick frontier, and that land secured on the south of the river here would widen the gap between the road and United States territory, and so constitute a much greater security. A concession from the United States at this point, he believed much more feasible than that outlined by Aberdeen, and he urged that he be given permission to make the substitution. This would secure to Great Britain the territory south of the St. John, lying between the Aroostook and Fish rivers, and would be additionally desirable since many British citizens were already settled in the district. But even though Ashburton proposed this counter-plan, he still emphasized the fact that, in the last resort, he must have authority to sign a treaty accepting the Netherlands award, precisely as outlined, or that Great Britain must be prepared to see a renewal of border troubles, with every probability of war as a result.

Fortunately for Ashburton, at the moment when he was thus checked by his new boundary instructions, Webster was experiencing difficulty with the Maine commissioners, and was forced to ask for delay. Pending a resumption of the boundary topic, the *Creole* matter came up for further discussion. Webster, in response to indignant outcries from Southern slave owners, had instructed Everett, the American minister at London, to make a protest, and to ask for security against a repetition of the incident. Everett had not presented the matter previous to Ashburton's departure, but the latter knew from Webster of Everett's instructions, and awaited developments with keen interest. On April 28, Ashburton wrote to Aberdeen that Webster hoped to connect the case of the *Creole* with a general extradition treaty, in which an article should be inserted covering similar cases.¹⁰ Webster's draft article, transmitted by Ashburton, would have compelled British colonial officials not only to abstain from all interference with slave vessels driven by stress of weather into British ports, but went still further in cases of mutiny by slaves, requiring colonial officials to aid the officers and owners to recover possession of their ships. Upon this latter clause Ashburton made no comment, save to express the opinion that some agreement was necessary, if constant friction were to be avoided. Meanwhile Everett, acting upon instructions, had presented the American protest at London. He had received in reply a formal acknowledgment from the Foreign Office, in which the action of the colonial officials in the *Creole* case was commended. Aberdeen's at-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 5.

titude was distinctly disconcerting. A protest which could call forth neither courteous regrets nor the slightest hint of concession for the future spelled embarrassment at least for the negotiators. When the news reached Washington each felt that the matter constituted a serious menace to the success of their negotiation and it was agreed, as Ashburton reported to Aberdeen on May 12, that "for the present it [Aberdeen's reply to Everett] must not be published here, as it does not suit our present purpose to irritate the Southern people".¹¹

The *Creole* case being of secondary importance to Ashburton, he recurred to the project of a treaty covering the joint questions of right of search and the African slave-trade. The slave-trade treaty, he wrote, "is advancing favourably". He lauded the report made to Webster by two American naval officers, Bell and Paine, upon the feasibility of joint cruising.¹² This report, dated May 10, 1842, is well known, and was printed in the official documents both of the United States and Great Britain, but one portion of it, as given in the original,¹³ which was sent to Aberdeen, is of especial interest in connection with the right of search. Bell and Paine, after narrating the conditions prevailing on the African coast, stated:

We are of opinion that a squadron should be kept on the coast of Africa to co-operate with the British, or other nations interested in stopping the Slave-Trade; and that the most efficient mode would be, for vessels to cruize in couples, one of each nation; (with an understanding that either of the cruisers may examine a suspicious vessel so far as may be necessary to determine her *national* character; while any farther search would be only pursued by the vessel having a right from the law of nations, or from existing treaties).

The words included within the parentheses, in the quotation just given, have a line drawn through them in the original, and are omitted in the report as it finally appeared in print. Ashburton believed them to have been thus cut out by Webster, because they seemed to imply a concession of the "right to visit" for which the British had so long contended. He did not, however, comment upon this, but rather upon the reasonable spirit here manifested by American naval officers, and upon their genuine desire to suppress the slave-trade. Ashburton had been brought, indeed, to a keener realization than prevailed in England, of the sensitiveness of the American public in the matter of the right of search, and of the practical difficulties of American statesmen in so dealing with the question as not to endanger their own political future. In a second despatch of May 12, he informed Aberdeen that the

¹¹ F. O., Am., 379, no. 6.

¹² *Br. Sess. Paps.*, 1843, *Commons*, vol. LXI., Correspondence between Great Britain and the United States, pp. 5-9.

¹³ Ashburton to Aberdeen, no. 6, May 12, 1842. F. O., Am., 379.

American position was due primarily to a fear of the renewal of British impressment, as formerly practised.¹⁴ Webster, in order to popularize the treaty, he argued, needed some British declaration, if not in the treaty itself, at least in the form of a note, that there would be no attempt in the future to impress British seamen from American vessels. He suggested a draft clause of such a declaration, and urged in support of it that Great Britain would never again venture to take seamen from American vessels. The clause read:

that in the event of our being engaged in a war in which the United States shall be neutral, impressment from her Merchant Vessels navigating the *High Seas* will not be practised, provided that provision be made by Law or other competent regulation, that during such War no subject of the Crown be entered into the Merchant Service of America, that shall not have been resident at least five years in the United States.

Ashburton's argument to Aberdeen was that:

Impressment, as a system, is an anomaly hardly bearable by our own people. To the foreigner it is undeniable tyranny, which can only be imposed upon him by force, and submitted to by him so long as that force continues. Our last war, and the perils in which at some periods of that War we were involved, may perhaps have justified violence. America was comparatively weak, and was forced for some years to submit. . . . But the proportions of Power are altered. The population of America has more than doubled since the last War, and that War has given her a Navy which she had not before. A Navy very efficient in proportion to its extent.

Under these circumstances can Impressment ever be repeated? I apprehend nobody in England thinks it can.

In the matter of impressment, as in the case of the *Creole*, Ashburton was of course without instruction, and could enter into discussion with Webster only upon his own responsibility. Nevertheless, informal unofficial discussions continued, and Ashburton evinced no less confidence than he had shown previous to the hampering boundary instructions. Ashburton's protest in that connection had been sent on April 25. The reply of the Foreign Office was prompt. On May 26 Aberdeen wrote that the first desire, and the real need of Great Britain was for the line of the upper St. John, and that Ashburton must try to secure this, in preference to the plan of obtaining land farther down and to the south of the river.¹⁵ But if this first object were unattainable, then Ashburton's plan might be urged; and in the last resort, if the United States would yield neither of these portions of territory, then, only, and

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 378, no. 8.

very reluctantly, Ashburton was given permission to "ascertain" if the Netherlands line, pure and simple, would be satisfactory to the United States. Ashburton had not asked directly for authority to conclude on the basis of the Netherlands line, but his arguments asserted that such a conclusion would be better than no treaty at all. Neither did Aberdeen give specific authority, but the form and manner of his reply to Ashburton indicated that Great Britain probably would not, in the last resort, refuse that line. Indeed, from the time when he received this instruction, the British negotiator felt free to conclude the Maine boundary question as his judgment dictated, provided only that the ultimate boundary line should not give Great Britain less than the Netherlands award. Late in June both Webster and President Tyler feared that Ashburton had been embarrassed by further instructions on the boundary question, and that these, in connection with the stubborn determination of the Maine commissioners, were wearing out his patience.¹⁶ The boundary question, however, caused him no uneasiness. On June 14, he wrote to Aberdeen that America was now ready to accept reasonable terms, adding: "I trust and hope that what we may do, may appear to deserve that character. That this should be so is of much more importance than any advantage to be gained in the details of a bargain."¹⁷ On June 29, after receiving Aberdeen's instruction of May 26, at a time when he was presumed to be discouraged, Ashburton wrote again that he now hoped to secure the line indicated by Aberdeen, namely, that of the upper St. John.¹⁸ In the formal statement of the British contention, presented to Webster on June 21, claim had been laid both to the upper St. John and to the Madawaska settlements south of the lower portion of that river, but it is evident from the correspondence with Aberdeen that Ashburton had no hope of securing the latter territory. The persistent refusal of Maine to consider this proposal, and the vexatious and threatening delays in the negotiation soon led the British agent to withdraw his claim to the lower Madawaska settlement.¹⁹

Such a concession was both reasonable and politic. Relying indeed on the implied permission given to him to sign a treaty based on the Netherlands award, he was at no time later seriously disturbed by the bargaining over boundaries. Indeed, the boundary question, in the light of his elastic instructions, was a far simpler matter to Ashburton than other points in dispute. When, therefore, after much forcing on the part of Webster, Maine was brought to con-

¹⁶ Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, p. 47.

¹⁷ F. O., Am., 379, no. 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 10.

¹⁹ Ashburton to Aberdeen, July 13, 1842. *Ibid.*, 380, no. 13.

sent to a compromise line, Ashburton felt that the solution was wholly satisfactory. The line agreed upon practically divided into equal portions that parallelogram of territory originally regarded by Aberdeen as essential to British military security. It gave the entire line of the St. John to the United States, but it also gave considerably more to Great Britain than had been awarded her by the King of the Netherlands. The boundary followed the St. John up to the point of its junction with the St. Francis, thence ran along that river to Lake Pohenagamook, and at this point departed from any so-called natural boundaries, and struck in a direct line to the southwest source of the St. John. This arrangement, in no way foreshadowed in the correspondence between Aberdeen and Ashburton, made it possible, if desirable, for the military road to cross the "highlands" of the St. Lawrence at some point directly east of Quebec, and thence to run to the northeast, and on the *eastern* side of those highlands, as Aberdeen had apparently wished, rather than on the *western* side, as Ashburton had proposed and the Netherlands award would have required.

Aberdeen's instruction of May 26, on the boundary matter, reached Ashburton at the same time with brief replies, written on June 3, to the questions and suggestions addressed to the British government in regard to impressment, extradition, and the *Creole*.²⁰ It was in relation to these latter subjects that Ashburton was for the moment disquieted. In a short note Aberdeen refused to assent to the proposed abandonment of impressment on the ground that this would be "tantamount to an absolute and entire renunciation of the indefeasible right inherent in the British Crown to command the allegiance and Services of its Subjects, wherever found". In another note of the same date,²¹ he approved the terms of the proposed extradition article, and the list of crimes, except that of "mutiny and revolt on board ship", which was the wording of the clause intended by the negotiators at Washington to cover cases like the *Creole*. The joint-cruising project which Ashburton had reported with such enthusiasm, Aberdeen briefly approved without comment. Ashburton could only feel that the British ministry was either indifferent to the plan of "settling all points in dispute", or else was too exclusively concerned with the boundary to see clearly the bearing and importance of other matters. On June 29, in acknowledgment of the advices from the Foreign Office just referred

²⁰ Aberdeen to Ashburton. *Ibid.*, 378, no. 9. A brief extract, approving the joint-cruising clause, together with an extract from Ashburton's first report on this topic, April 25, was printed in *Br. Sess. Paps.*, 1843, *Commons*, vol. LXI., Correspondence between Great Britain and the United States, p. 4.

²¹ F. O., Am., 378, no. 10.

to, he despatched three communications to Aberdeen. The first of these, already noted, stated that generous boundary concessions by the United States were within view; the second expressed regret at Aberdeen's decision with regard to impressment, but made no further proposal;²² while in the third Ashburton recapitulated the reasons for taking up the questions of extradition and the *Creole*, stating that in America his mission was expected to dispose of *all* the questions of difference between the two nations. He, too, had hoped to meet these expectations and was greatly chagrined to learn the decision of the British cabinet in regard to them. In the case of the *Creole*, he assured Aberdeen that failure to give satisfaction for the future would be a serious disappointment to the American President and Congress, and threatened the successful conclusion of other matters under discussion.²³ The contradiction in language and tone between despatches written on the same date, in one of which Ashburton was extremely confident of boundary advantages, and in another doubtful as to securing any treaty at all, is difficult to explain. Possibly the three despatches, taken together, were intended to convey to Aberdeen an idea of the large advantages in boundary that might have been secured had Ashburton been given a free hand in other matters and certainly his communications of June 29 laid the ground of an excellent defense, on the line of hampering restrictions, in case the entire negotiation came to naught.

The treaty finally included, in addition to boundary matters, articles providing for joint cruising in suppression of the slave-trade, and for extradition. A note by Ashburton, together with one by Webster, covered the case of the *Caroline*, and apology "for the necessity of the act", was expressed on the lines indicated by Aberdeen in his first instructions. Webster's note on impressment presented in elaborate form the American contention against the British assertion of this right, and in reply Ashburton admitted "that some remedy should, if possible, be applied. At all events it must be fairly and honestly attempted."²⁴ This implied a pledge of later negotiation. On the *Creole*, Webster's note asked that Ashburton promise that instructions should be given to colonial officers to safeguard the rights of citizens of the United States. In reply, Ashburton expressed his regret that he had no instructions in the matter, and stated that he might even have ventured

²² F. O., Am., 379, no. 11.

²³ *Ibid.*, no. 12.

²⁴ Ashburton to Webster, August 9, 1842. *Br. Sess. Paps.*, 1843, *Commons*, vol. LXI., Correspondence between Ashburton and Webster, p. 64.

to act without such instructions, "if I had not arrived at the conclusion, after very anxious consideration, that . . . this question had better be treated in London, where it will have a much increased chance of settlement on terms likely to satisfy the interests of the United States".²⁵ On August 9, Ashburton transmitted to Aberdeen this correspondence with Webster, and explained why he had ventured upon it.²⁶ Some official statement upon the *Creole*, he asserted, had become essential to the safety of the treaty. It had proved the most difficult of all the topics with which he had attempted to deal. Webster's note and argument were "mainly calculated to cover his popularity in the South", while his own note "was intended to evade any engagement, while I maintained our general principles with regard to Slavery". "To say something conciliating was indispensable to the safety of our other objects." Ashburton expressed the hope that his vague pledge as to the conduct of colonial officials would not be disavowed, and again insisted that British lawyers must find some way out of this difficulty, or constant friction with the United States would surely result. Two treaties were ultimately agreed upon and signed by the negotiators, the one dealing with the boundary, the other with the topics of joint cruising and extradition. These were transmitted to England for ratification, but the day after they were despatched, it was considered wiser, in view of possible rejection by the Senate, that they be incorporated in one treaty, and this was done.²⁷

The foregoing account of the steps of this negotiation, so far as existing documents can testify, throws much light on the character of Ashburton as a diplomatist. He was despatched to America when relations between the two countries were sufficiently strained to require a conciliating personality and when the demands of the people and of the government were so exacting as to call for a master hand. That he knew American life thoroughly, had many American friends, and a charming American wife, doubtless contributed to his selection, and were important facts in his favor. But they do not explain his sometimes cavalier treatment of his instructions, nor his remarkable readiness to assume responsibility. The very method of procedure, of so informal a nature as to cause Benton to complain that no treaty had ever been presented to the United States Senate with so little evidence as to the steps in the negotiation, appears to have been chosen by Ashburton. These friendly conferences, to which Webster will-

²⁵ Ashburton to Webster, August 7, 1842. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁶ F. O., Am., 379, no. 20.

²⁷ Ashburton to Aberdeen, August 13, 1842. *Ibid.*, 380, no. 23.

ingly assented, took the place of formal negotiations and were carried on without the exchange of written papers, until the time came to cast the final results into shape for presentation. Webster, it is true, has been charged with beguiling Ashburton into the adoption of this plan, but the latter's letters to his chief clearly proclaim Ashburton's responsibility in the matter.²⁸ Also, from the very first Ashburton insisted that discussion of the boundary must not turn on contemporary opinion at the time of the original treaty, 1783, but must merely seek to discuss what was *now* fair and just to both parties. Indeed he not only impressed this verbally upon Webster, but also made it an essential feature of his first formal statement of the British case on June 21, and reiterated it in a private letter to Webster. The guiding principle of the negotiation must be, he wrote, "that the treaty of 1783 was not executable, according to its strict expression, and that the case was therefore one for agreement by compromise".²⁹ He claimed that he himself had much new material, but that he would not produce it, since the one chance of reaching a solution was to avoid technicalities. He was quite consistent in this affirmation. Later despatches show that he frequently prevented the boundary discussions from reverting to an analysis of and deductions from the words of the treaty of 1783.

The assumption of mutual confidence and the intimacy of communication, it has been maintained, placed an obligation upon both representatives to be perfectly open in bringing forward all matters pertinent to the case. In support of this contention, it has also been said that Webster sinned as a gentleman and a diplomat in withholding from Ashburton's knowledge the map found by Jared Sparks in Paris, which accorded with the British claim. On the other hand, there could be no betrayal when each had consented to avoid all technical discussion and all new material. The Sparks map, Webster's weapon to coerce the Senate and to browbeat Maine, is quite apart from the negotiation, as it was, of course, non-existent to Ashburton. Upon this point Ashburton wrote, after returning to England: "The public are very busy with the question whether Webster was bound in honour to damage his own case by telling all. I have put this to the consciences of old diplomatists without getting a satisfactory answer. My own opinion, is that in this respect no reproach can fairly be made." And in another letter a few days later, he wrote, "If I am called upon to

²⁸ Ashburton to Aberdeen, July 13, 1842. *F. O. Am.*, 380, no. 13.

²⁹ Ashburton to Aberdeen, June 29, 1842, enclosing a copy of a letter to Webster of June 21. *Ibid.*, 379, no. 10.

say anything in the Lords, it will be in favour of my collaborator on this point."³⁰

In Ashburton's prompt and emphatic protest against the hampering instruction of March 31, and his freedom at all times in discussing matters upon which he was without instructions, can be seen the exceptionally independent negotiator. His communications clearly show him to be positive, fearless, and tenacious, though at no time actually disobedient to orders, nor often out of sympathy with his chief. Suddenly halted in the boundary discussion, he immediately entered upon the matters of impressment and the *Creole*, both subjects upon which he had no advices whatever. If he really came to deal with "all matters in dispute", he was surely attempting to fulfil his function. Possibly he trusted his protest against supplementary instructions and reasons therefor, to bring him greater liberty of action, and in the outcome he was not disappointed. Ambitious alike to serve the home government acceptably and to be instrumental in the acquisition of all available territory, he made strong efforts to realize Aberdeen's wishes. He was embarrassed by no further instructions, and, as has been shown, he was not unsuccessful. He was chagrined, unquestionably, that no conclusion could be reached in the matters of the *Creole* and impressment, and that these matters could not be included in the treaty. That the failure to accomplish this did not ultimately imperil the treaty is further tribute to the skill of the agent. Though unauthorized to commit his country in any way upon these matters, he yet handled the situation so tactfully that no complaints could be made. The Oregon boundary difficulty, another item omitted, seemed to him remote and the failure to settle it of no immediate importance, yet it proved to be the occasion of the next acute crisis. Ashburton, however, was no more blind to the future in this particular than was Webster himself.

It was not to be expected that a treaty which was in the nature of a compromise would be well received by the people in either country. Viewed fairly however, with allowances for the difficulties of the transaction, the necessity for conciliating the irritated Americans as well as the insistent and long-suffering British, it should be conceded that Lord Ashburton accomplished his mission with distinguished success. In spite of this, the treaty came to be known in England as the "Ashburton capitulation"—a most unjust imputation, for at the same time a jealous American public felt it had equal cause to feel itself defrauded by Webster. Prejudice was to be expected however, for it was quite impossible that there could be

³⁰ Ashburton to Croker, February 7 and February 13, 1843. Croker, *Correspondence and Diaries* (New York, 1884), II, 192.

in England any actual appreciation of the American point of view or of the temper of the American public. Regarding the conclusion of his work, Ashburton wrote:

Upon the defence of my treaty I am very stout and fearless, and they who do not like it may kill the next Hotspur themselves. It is a subject upon which little enthusiasm can be expected. The truth is that our cousin Jonathan is an aggressive, arrogant fellow in his manner. . . . By nearly all our people he is therefore hated, and a treaty of conciliation with such a fellow, however considered by prudence or policy to be necessary, can in no case be very popular with the multitude. Even my own friends and masters who employed me are somewhat afraid of showing too much satisfaction with what they do not hesitate to approve.²¹

He had, he felt, been instrumental in bridging over a dangerous crisis in the relations of the United States and Great Britain and no disturbance seemed likely in the near future.²² He had more than justified his selection and the unusual powers given him. He had proved himself an accomplished diplomatist, courteous, patient, considerate, and above all, just. He had secured for Great Britain considerably more than the minimum of disputed territory she had stipulated for and more than America was prepared to give. The British government had every reason to congratulate itself that it had chosen Lord Ashburton, and, in the end, had trusted to him the negotiation of the northeastern boundary.

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS.

²¹ Ashburton to Croker, November 25, 1842. Croker, II. 188.

²² Ashburton to Aberdeen, August 31, 1842. F. O., Am., 380, no. 24.

DOCUMENTS

Journal of William K. Beall, July-August, 1812

THE following journal is the property of Mr. Hugh Knox Miles of Newport, Kentucky, and Cincinnati. The opportunity for its publication, which may be deemed especially appropriate to July, 1912, is afforded us by Rev. Miles W. Smith, of Tarkio, Missouri, nephew of the owner, who copied it for publication and has supplied interesting information regarding it. The journal is contained in a small manuscript volume which descended to Mr. Miles from his mother, Mary Jane Beall (Mrs. Samuel Thomas Miles), daughter of Benjamin Duke Beall and niece of William Kennedy Beall, the writer.

William K. Beall (pron. Bell) and Melinda his wife lived on an extensive estate called Beallmont, on the Ohio River a little above Newport, Kentucky. Beallmont extended along the river about six miles, from near the present site of Brent, Kentucky, up to that of Mentor, and also back from the river some six miles.

Mr. Beall joined Hull's army in the spring of 1812 and was made an assistant quartermaster-general under his friend and neighbor General James Taylor. His early capture, under the circumstances related in his journal and familiar to historians, makes it impossible that the document should be a source of the first importance for the main events of the campaign. Yet it is interesting for many details, such as his glimpses of Tecumtha and his descriptions of the localities, and for the general atmosphere of the mismanaged and disastrous campaign.

One matter reported by the diarist, under date of July 8, would be of much importance if we could suppose him to have been correctly informed. This is the statement of Captain Dewar and Lieutenant Gooding, that in General Hull's trunk (which it will be remembered left his custody on the evening of June 30) they saw a declaration of war, enclosed to the general by the Secretary of War. But it is now known with certainty that Hull received no such announcement till July 2 (see note 15 below). The accusation of treachery in this matter formed the first specification under the first charge (treason) at Hull's court-martial. The evidence disposed of it, and the court exonerated him so far as this charge was concerned.

While it may not be possible to say what Captain Dewar and Lieutenant Gooding saw, it is certain that the three letters, taken from the Americans, which St. George sent to Prevost and which Prevost sent to Lord Liverpool, and which were presumably the most important among those found, contained no information of the sort. They can be identified by the comparison of the *Report on Canadian Archives* for 1893, pages 66, 67, 68, with the *Historical Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, XXV. 322-323.

On board the Schooner *Thames* lying at anchor off Malden, July 5th 1812.

Instead of a comfortable home, the endearing smiles, and the enlivening converse of those I love, I am now a prisoner, insulated from the world and society, and without one page of literature wherewith to beguile the dull and tedious hours of thralldom. To relieve the *tedium vitae* of my captive days, I shall therefore employ myself in briefly and immethodically registering in the form of a Journal such occurrences as I may wish to preserve from the oblivial hand of forgetfulness.

The North Western army under command of Br. Genl. William Hull, after marching through a wilderness of near Two Hundred miles and encountering innumerable deep swamps, marshes, and heavy rains almost every day, at length arrived at the Miami of the Lakes on the 29th June 1812. The day was clear, and after a long and tedious march through such wearisome swamps, and drinking from brooks that flowed as yellow as saffron, to come suddenly and unexpectedly in view of a transparent river washing the borders of a dry and luxuriant country was a scene which enlivened the countenances of the fatigued soldiers, and created joy and admiration throughout all the army. After marching about one mile down the river the army encamped with perfect regularity three miles above the foot of the rapids, on a broad and verdant beach half a mile wide. On the following day the officers and soldiers agreeable to Orders appeared on parade in full and clean dress and after being mustered and crossing the River in boats, march in good order occasionally to the band, the drums and fifes, through a small town,¹ and encamped two miles below the Rapids on ground not less advantageous than the former. The situation of our department being in the front next the Commdr. in Chief, I could see the whole army on its march. The two front Regiments were uniformed, and those in the rear were too distant to distinguish dress. The army marched in sections, forming a line of near two miles in length, the day was clear and favorable to the appearance of their muskets which reflected the brilliancy of the sun. The light Dragoons elegantly uniformed formed the advance guard. The 4th Regt. U. S. Infantry was in front of Col. Cass's and col. Findlay's Regts., and Col. McArthur brought up the Rear.² The Rifle Companies formed a flank guard, and marching by single file at some distance from each other, extended to the rear on each side the army. The view was grand and inspiring and the Genl. was in fine spirits.

¹ Maumee City.

² The Fourth United States Infantry was under the command of Lieut.-Col. James Miller. Cass's, Findlay's and McArthur's regiments were the Third, Second, and First Ohio Volunteers respectively.

Genl. Taylor the Quarter Mr. Genl.³ was very unwell and that day received dispatches by express from Newport, Kentucky.

Being on constant duty all day, I had not had an opportunity of satisfactorily viewing a country which I thought as beautiful and almost as fertile as any I ever beheld. However I stole time sufficient to ride on the ground where Genl. Wayne defeated the Indians Augt. 1795,⁴ and an old Fort once Occupied by the British. It was called Fort George, and is situated one and a half miles below the rapids on a high and commanding bank of the River, and between the River and the Fort is a high and luxuriant beach two hundred yards wide. Immediately at the bottom of the bank below the fort, there is a fine spring from which the troops in the Fort procured water by a strong and concealed passway under ground. The Country back is level, but not so high by twenty feet as the ground on which the Fort stood, and from decayed appearances it must have been almost impregnable by storm. It is perfectly round, about one Hundred feet in diameter, and is surrounded by numerous strong batteries and deep entrenchments. Inside there appears to have been many apartments underground where they might rest secure from bombs, and where no balls could possibly penetrate. Many of the Indians after Genl. Wayne defeated them retreated to this Fort, which was then garrisoned with British troops, but they were not permitted to enter, knowing that Genl. Wayne in consequence of such protection would besiege the Fort. Indeed Genl. Wayne had long thought they encouraged and assisted the Indians, and sought many pretexts for attacking them but they were careful to give him none. Part of the army happening to march by, the fort sent out to know the cause of their approach and threatening to fire on them if the[y] came nearer. After which Genl. Wayne rode by himself to the spring below the Fort, dipped up water in his hat and drank of it, in hopes they would fire and give him cause of Attack. I have been told by a British officer that one of the Fort would inevitably have killed the Genl. when in that situation had not the commandt. of the Garrison stept up in time to prevent it.

On the 1st day of July the army marched for Detroit, and although a great quantity of heavy baggage had been left at Fort Findlay,⁵ yet the teams being worn out, in want of forage, and the great number of waggons greatly impeded the progress of the Army. To remedy which by Genl. Hull's order a great quantity of medical and Quarter Master's stores, officers' baggage and all the sick of the Army was left to be transported by water to Detroit. On the same day that the Army marched, a considerable part of the stores and baggage, 3 sick sergeants and 8 sick Rank and file of the militia, one well sergt., 2 sick Do. and 17 Sick Rank and file of the 4th Regt. U. S. Infantry, were put on board the Packet of *Cayahoga*,⁶ a small schooner of 15 or 20 Ton Burthen, Luther Chapin Capt. and master. Having been very unwell during the march of the Army I recd. letters of introduction to Capt. Whistler commanding at Detroit and went on Board as a passenger to take care of the Quarter Master Stores on our arrival. The other passengers were Mrs. Bacon, Mrs. Fuller, Mrs. Gooding, Capt. Sharp of Cass's Regt. who was very

³ Gen. James Taylor of Newport, Kentucky. His testimony is to be found in Hull's *Trial* (1814), pp. 138-144.

⁴ August 20, 1794. The fort was that commonly called Fort Miami.

⁵ A fort built on the line of march by Col. Findlay; now Findlay, Ohio.

⁶ *Cuyahoga*.

ill, George Gooding, 2nd Lt. 4th U. S. Infy. who had charge of the soldiers and baggage of the 4th Regt.,⁷ Lt. Dent who had the care of the baggage of Col. Cass's Regt., Two small boys, and 2 women of the 4th Regt. The crew consisted of Capt. Chapin and three sailors, one of whom was sick. Such was the goodly unprepared and unsuspecting Junto, who unaware of the existence of hostilities between their government and Great Britain; about 2 o'clock A. M. on the first day of that ever memorable month July and in the eventful year of 1812 weighed anchor and slowly floated down the calm surface of the Miami of the Lakes. No command was given to any one of us to my knowledge, we were not cautioned to be on our guard, no preparations were made for defence, nor did we receive any instructions, further than to Sail to Detroit. . . .⁸ a little vessel, which if well armed would not have been able to contend for a passage by the war Vessels and batteries of [sic] at Malden.⁹ Such of the sick as were least unwell were put in an open Boat under charge of Dr. Reynolds,¹⁰ but as there was no wind for the schooner to sail they rowed past us, and we did not see them again. The Miami of the Lakes increases rapidly and in 18 miles from the foot of the Rapids loses itself in Lake Erie. We had no wind and only floated 8 miles before night when Capt. Chapin cast anchor. About Eleven or Twelve O'clock a brisk and fair wind blew up and the schooner sailed, but on entering Lake Erie ran on a shoal and did [not] again get under way until near sunrise. From the mouth of the Miami to Detroit River, is Thirty miles, and having a fair and heavy wind sailed near 9 miles on hour. The swells were very high, the vessel small and all the passengers seasick except myself. I had never been on such an extensive water before. I had never seen such majestic waves, and the vessel in riding them and the novelty of the scene rendered the passage for a while delightful. It was the only occurrence which had enlivened me after my departure from Newport. The object for which the Army was destined, their martial appearance and the turmoil and bustle of the Camp though congenial to my nature and my wishes; (owing to my debilitated state of health and depressed spirits) did not create one cheerful idea. While crossing the Lake I opened the Lady of the Lake, and the beauty of the following lines induced me to memorize them.¹¹

The cabin of the vessel being occupied by the ladies at night I had been compelled to slumber on deck, and I slept so unsoundly that about

⁷ Lieut. Gooding's testimony is in Hull's *Trial*, pp. 100-101.

⁸ At this point the following words have been deleted, whether by the author or by some other person, is not known: "I do not here intend to blame the Commandr. in chief; far from it. For as a declaration of War was unknown to him, he did not expect a capture or detainure of the vessel. If he had thought such an event possible, he certainly would not have risked so many persons and so much baggage on board." Gen. Taylor, the quartermaster-general, says in his testimony that he doubted the safety of what was thus sent, especially after he heard that the vessel must go past Malden.

⁹ It appears that the proper name of the township was Malden, that of the fort Amherstburg. See the pamphlet by C. C. James, *Early History of the Town of Amherstburg* (Amherstburg, 1902).

¹⁰ Surgeon's mate James Reynolds. The boat under his charge passed up the more shallow channel at the west side of Bois Blanc Island, and reached Detroit in safety on the afternoon of July 3.

¹¹ Here follow the three stanzas beginning, "The heath this night must be my bed".

8 miles from Fort Malden I fell asleep. I was afterwards awakened¹² and informed that we were near Amherstburgh, and on rising we had just passed the Revenue Cutter which had been expected at the Rapids and which was beating slowly down the River. I was told that she came close by the packet and spoke her but they did not perfectly understand. The view of Amherstburgh, a small town below Fort Malden, though indifferently built, and the adjoining country, appeared beautiful. The green meadows and wheatfields were waving before the wind in a lovely and superior imitation of Lake Erie, and everything appeared to wear the cheering smiles of peace and plenty. As if anxious to assist in depriving us of our liberty Aeolius with heavy wind and neptune with foaming waves with double impetuosity was urging the vessel toward Fort Malden when we espied a boat which appeared to be crossing from the point of an Island, and which we supposed to be a canoe of Indians. About three fourths of a mile below the Fort the River is separated by three Islands and several very small ones into a number of streams, all of which except one is too shallow and full of shoals to be navigated by any other than Row Boats. The one alluded to is that which runs by Fort Malden and which is deep enough for vessels of any burthen. The boat which we had taken for an Indian canoe on our nearer approach proved to be a long boat with a naval offr. and six sailors on Board, who having laid on their oars for a short time made for us, and Capt. Chapin supposing they wished to make only some friendly enquiries did not alter his course. They were armed with cutlasses and heavy pistols belted around them and raising their muskets the officer ordered the main sails to be lowered, which not being done he fired a Pistol in the air. Capt. Chapin began to lower them, but expecting we could get around the Island I requested him to hoist them. He did so but replied impossible. What was to be done, we had no idea of the Commencement of war, the hole was too full of baggage to admit more than 5 or 6 of the sick, the balance, women and all crowded on Deck, the cabin not more than large enough for the women to retreat to, no room to handle or manage the sails, the muskets and cartridge boxes with what few damaged cartridges that were in them, were all stowed away under the baggage in the hole, and the sick and defenceless exposed to the shot of the boat. The *Brigh Hunter*¹³ mounting 14 guns was under way after us, we were too far advanced in the channel to get back, and a long boat with 60 Infantry had put out below us to cut off our retreat, and were making for us. Indeed we were within shot of them, nor did we perceive them until we had passed them. As we passed the long boat, Capt. Rollet¹⁴ the naval officer pointed a pistol at Lt. Gooding who was standing near the helm, and repeated the order, "*dowse your mainsails*". Lt. Gooding cried, "I have no command here sir". A shot was then fired directly at us, and I thought like others did, that they aimed at me and the ball passed close to me. Capt. Chapin enquired what he should do. "Do as you please", replied Lt. Gooding, and the mainsails were lowered. The vessel floated till Capt. Rollet and his six men came along side and entered her. I demanded of the Officer his authority for boarding us,

¹² Morning of July 3.

¹³ The *Hunter*, 10 guns, was part of the small British fleet on Lake Erie.

¹⁴ Lieut. Frederic Rolette, who was born at Quebec in 1783, and had fought at the Nile and Trafalgar, was now a lieutenant in the provincial marine, and commanded the *Hunter*.

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and he replied that an express had reached Ft. Malden the night before, stating that war was declared, and that the Americans had taken two British vessels on the lakes below.¹⁵

The vessel was steered up to the Dock yard and anchored, a guard sent on Board, and Capt. Duer the Asst. Q. Mr. Genl.¹⁶ took a list of our names, Rank, and the No. of Men. Until Capt. Rollet stated that a declaration of war had taken place I was not positive but that as the Embargo law had not expired, they wished to see Capt. Chapin's clearance, or see if no contraband goods were on board and let her pass on. I did not know but what it was customary to make such examinations in all Ports or that they seeing a vessel loaded with soldiers approaching, and anticipating a declaration of war, did not know but that it was the commencement of an attack, and wished to ascertain. Such and various other conjectures, owing [to] my little knowledge in affairs of this kind, instantly revolved themselves in my mind. And when told that war was declared, although I had contemplated such an event, yet I doubted it; I still expected they were wrong informed and that when Genl. Hull demanded us we would be permitted to go on to Detroit.

Capt Rollet expressed his regret at being compelled by his orders to take us, and Capt. Duer, Capt. Barwis,¹⁷ and other Officers requested us not to consider ourselves as prisoners of war, but only as detained on account of the dispatches which had reached them from Malden. They declared it was a very unpleasant occurrence, hoped that the statement of war might prove incorrect, desired we would make our time as agreeable as possible, that any service they could render us they would with pleasure, and said if their wishes could have been gratified we should have gone by without interruption. They sd. if authentic information reached them that war was not declared we would be released, but if war had been or after our detainure was declared, that we would be considered as prisoners of war. Lt. Gooding expressed a desire to dine on shore, and to put up at a publick house during our stay. Capt. Duer waited on Col. St. George the Comma[n]dant of Fort Malden,¹⁸ and returned with permission for us to do so on our Parole, but said that Col. St. George feared the Indians might injure us and said that the troops were so much engaged, that he could not furnish a guard to protect us at a publick house, and if we went we must do it on our own responsibility. Capt. Duer said the Indians were very much enraged with the Americans, that he thought it unsafe for us to be on shore particularly at night, and advised us to guard against savages who he feared would take our lives if it could be done secretly or in a crowd. He said that the men would be removed to the *Thames* where a guard would be stationed, that he would have the cabins prepared for us, that if we choose to accept them it would be a place of safety where the guard would protect us. He feared that the Indians in a drunken rage at night might enter a publick house and murder us, named an instance of an infuriated Indian stepping up behind a man walking with a British officer and tomhawking him, advised us not to go out in the streets when Indians were walking them unless accompanied by an officer, sd. that if

¹⁵ It will be remembered that Hull did not receive word that war was declared until he was approaching Frenchtown on the evening of July 2. See the story in Lossing, *Field-Book*, p. 258, n.

¹⁶ Lieut. Edward Dewar.

¹⁷ Lieut. Thomas Barwis, of the provincial marine.

¹⁸ Lieut.-Col. Thomas Bligh St. George, inspector of militia.

we went on board the vessel that we would have a parole to go through town, that the guard would set us on shore whenever we desired it, and invited us to his house till accommodations could be prepared at an Inn. These and similar representations from others induced us in the evening to conclude on the *Thames* as our abode for the time being. On our arrival at the wharf great numbers of Indians had collected to see us, some of them laughed and appeared rejoiced at our being taken, others frowned on us with the most savage ferocity. Mr. Gooding pointed out several who after the battle of Tippecanoe, had held a council at Vincennes to make Peace. Some of them also knew him.

At Capt. Duer's we were treated hospitably and politely. His side board was covered with wine, Cider, Ice, biscuit etc. As Mr. Gooding had previously requested he accompanied us to a publick house, after politely expressing his regrets at its being improper to invite us to dine with him. I thanked him for his urbanity, and acknowledged the impropriety of such an invitation. Capt. Duer apologised for the indifference of the Inn, sd. it was the best in town, that he would call in the evening and know our determination as to staying on shore and departed. Mrs. Duer I think an amiable and intelligent woman.

We had a tolerable good dinner at Boyles, and leaving the ladies, under protection of the Landlord, we, unaccompanied by any officer walked down the street through crowds of frowning Indians; yet every white man bowed to us politely. On passing the house of a gentleman who had introduced himself to me soon after we got to Boyles he invited us into his house, where we drank several glasses of wine and were introduced to several gentlemen among whom was Capt. Elliot a Militia officer who appeared friendly and polite.¹⁹ Capt. Elliot was born in Maryland of American parents and was a Lieut. in Adams's Army. When disbanded, (like many others) he was displeased with the government, and emigrated to this place where he married and pursued the practice of law. His connections in the U. S. are extensive; he has a brother a Capt. in the new levied Army, another in the Navy and is related to Capt. Hughes of the Peace establishment. He appears to be a loyal subject, and thinks the american government treated him ungenerously, in disbanding him who had done duty for several years on Frontier posts against the Indians, instead of those who had scarcely done garrison duty, and left him and several others to make their way through a wilderness where they had no provisions. A man who renounces his allegiance to his native Country ought to be cautiously trusted by that government in which he becomes a Citizen. The love of country is inherent in our natures and cannot be eradicated by an oath. Though the government may be despised by us, yet the wronged people and the Country will still remain dear to us.

Capt. Duer and Capt. Rollet returned in the evening, and finding we had concluded [to remain] on the *Thames*, accompanied us to the Boat.

Before we left the Packet the muskets were all taken out, our swords were delivered to Capt. Rollet and with mine, (I very reluctantly though not seemingly so) gave up a very elegant, gilt cased stiletto.

¹⁹ Cap. William Elliot of the Essex militia. He had been appointed a first lieutenant in the Ninth U. S. Infantry in 1799, honorably discharged in 1800, appointed a second lieutenant in the Second U. S. Infantry in 1801, and again honorably discharged in 1802.

We have been allowed our own baggage and eatables, and I hope that even in the event of a war, that the officers will be restored to them. The men have all their clothes etc. given to them, and are indulged with the use of the Deck. They have been visited by a Surgeon and receive good rations of Bread, Porks, peas, rice, and twice a week fresh beef. The British soldiers are not allowed rations of whiskey, and I think it would be policy in our government to give their troops a ration of beans or peas instead of whiskey.

Capt. Sharp puts up at Boyles's as he is too ill to be confined in the Cabin where there is but little fresh air. The Military are very busy. The River is so strongly guarded both night and day above and below, that it is impossible for a vessel of ours to pass. We see men of all ages and sizes in the militia who are all in service. People differ about the number of Indians here, some say 2000 warriors, others that number of men, women and children, and down to 500 which I think most probably correct.

Capt. Duer who has seen service, says that war is by no means desirable even to the soldier, and says he will be sorry if the U. S. and Great. B. are unable to adjust their differences without war, all who have spoken to me on that subject both military and civil, express the same pacific sentiments, and I am confident they would prefer peace, and friendship between the inhabitants of the two nations. Individuals of two nations may have a friendship for each other, but *National* friendship never existed. Interest is the basis of all their connections, and so long as any nation's glory and resources are aided and advanced by another, so long, and no longer, will they be in amity. However the present war if it is declared, cannot advance the interests of either power. The safety of one nation prevents a compliance with all the demands made by the other. But as I ought not to dabble at present in politics I order a *halt*.

On the 3rd July Mrs. Bacon and Mrs. Fuller furnished by Col. St. George with a passport to Sandwich with instructions to Col. Baby²⁰ to have them set across to Detroit by a Flag. They went in a Calash and hired a cart to take theirs and their husbands baggage, the two boys, and one of the women. Walked through town, and was amused in contrasting the signs with those in our Country. Instead of Washington, Green and others might be seen George 3, the Lion, the Crown, the Kings Bake house etc. etc. Dined at Boyles at the sign of the harp of Erin. Clear and warm day.

July 4th. On shore in the forenoon. Eat a good dinner on board the *Thames*, and drank several glasses of good M[a]deira. Heard the cannon fired at Detroit in celebration of that day. Hot and clear day. Arrived two hundred Indian warriors from the Sock²¹ Nation. They are generally the largest and best formed men I ever saw, but as savage and uncultivated in their appearance as any of the aboriginals of North America.

July 5th. Arrived the *Queen Charlotte* a beautiful vessel commanded

²⁰ Probably Col. Francis Baby, of Sandwich, now Windsor, Ontario. His house, near Sandwich, became Hull's headquarters after the passage of the river on July 12. Hatch, *A Chapter in the History of the War of 1812* (Cincinnati, 1872), pp. 28-29.

²¹ Sauk.

by Capt. Hall Commodore of Lake Erie;²² and who, if I may judge from fe[a]tures and his eyes is not only a brave but a humane man. Heard the Reveille of our army at Day Break. They must have encamped at or near Brownstown. Dined on board, went on shore in the evening. An alarm. Women and children ran crying and crowding to the vessels, where people were depositing trunks of their most valuable property. Indians running shouting through the streets. The Cry of to arms resounded, and the greatest consternation and dismay seemed to prevail. I cannot picture myself [my sentiments?]. They were not ent[i]rely of a melancholy Cast, though I [felt] sensibly for those on both sides who might loose their lives. I anticipated it as a period to my captivity, for I trusted if our troops had crossed that I should be retaken. Very natural. Wishing to be in a place of safety from the Indians, the Officer of the Day and Boyle, attended us to the *Thames*. Hot and clear. The uproar was occasioned by the Detroit Artillery firing a National Salute of 17 guns to Genl. Hull and the Army. All quiet again.

Monday July 6th, 1812. Col. Cass, and Capt. Hickman son in law to Genl. Hull and Capt. in the 17th U. S. Infantry arrived at Malden with a Flag of Truce, (accompanied by Mr. Patterson in a calash) blindfolded. We were invited to Searly Tavern, Col. St. George's quarters to see them. Col. Cass appeared very glad to see us, smiled, appeared Cheerful, yet sympathised in our Misfortune. Capt. Hickman when introduced to us by Col. Cass, shook us by the hands as feelingly and cordially as if we were his bosom friends. Lt. Pickham of the 4th Regt. who had followed with a Flag to report himself to Col. Cass about his baggage which was taken passed them (they having stopped on the way) and arriving before them was arrested. He did not succeed in his errand. Being released by Col. Cass's influence, he entered the room, but appeared alarmed and backward—appeared as if he knew not whether he dare shake hands with us and appeared distant from some cause which we neither knew or cared for. It appears as if the Officers at Fort Malden had no positive and certain information that war was declared, until Col. Cass came down. He said Genl. Hull recd. it by express the evening after we left him, and that the Genl. said he gave Capt. Chapin Positive orders not to sail by Malden, which Capt. C. has as positively denied. Col. Cass's business down we know not. But it now appears that we are certainly prisoners of War. As it was late Col. Cass staid all night to give us an opportunity of writing to our friends and we returned to the vessel about dark.

I received the following letter from Genl. Taylor which when handed to Col. St. George unsealed he was so polite as to give it me without opening it.²³

After Paying the men I wrote to Genl. Taylor and Melinda, of which the following are Copies.

²² Capt. George B. Hall, just appointed, was in charge of the marine department of the lake till the arrival of Barclay. The *Queen Charlotte*, of 400 tons, 20 guns, was afterward taken by Perry, as were likewise the *Hunter*, the *Lady Prevost*, and the *Detroit*.

²³ The letter is not inserted in the journal.

ON BOARD THE SCHOONER THAMES,
July 6th, 1812.

Dr. Sir,

By Col. Cass I had the honor to receive your favour of this morning together with my appointment and Two Hundred Dollars. I shall forward you duplicate rect. Rolls for the payment of the men amounting to \$82.00 but as it was nearly night when I received your letter, as Col. Cass will return very early in the morning, and as Capt. Sharp puts up at a publick house in Town on account of his illness, I shall not be able to send you his pay and subsistence accounts at present. I shall have all your vouchers which are in my possession ready to send by Col. Cass, and from what Col. St. George intimated this evening I think I shall be permitted to send them. At present there is no possibility of getting the private property returned. We have been allowed our own. Please to instruct your agent at Newport to let Mrs. Beall have what money she may want. I inclose you Fifteen Dollars in Cincinnati Bills useless to me *here*.

So far we have been treated with politeness and have met with every indulgence we could require. The sick are visited by the physicians and some are mending. I enjoy a flow of good spirits which I would have thought impossible in my present situation, and better health than I did on the march. It is now near day, and I have been engaged in writing home and paying the Prisoners all night. I must request yours or Majr. Berrys' attention to forwarding my letter to Mrs. Beall, and accept my thanks for your intended endeavours to render her time as cheerful and pleasant as possible during my captivity. Remember me to Friends. With every sentiment of regard

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully

Your obdt. Humble Servt.,

W. K. BEALL, Asst. Q. Mr.
North Western Army.²⁵

Genl. Jas. Taylor Q. M. Genl.
N. W. Army
Detroit

Tuesday July 7th. Up all last night. Col. Cass called about sun rise, and received my letters, Genl. Taylor's vouchers after they were examined by Capt. Barwis. I sent Genl. Taylor \$15. in Miami Bank Bills, which were useless to me in Canada. Col. Cass bid us adieu with an expressive look and said he would not forget us. They returned by water accompanied by Capt. Barwis, who has treated us very politely yet judg[ing] him by the same criterion I did Capt. Hull, viz his phisyo-gnomy, though he is not unlikely man, I should pronounce him brave but tyrannical and inhuman to such as he controuls and dislike. This a mere fancy in which I trust [I] am mistaken. We are much indebted to the urbanity and hospitality of all the officers we have become acquainted with. Walked on shore. In the evening Commodore Hall and capt. Rollet requested our attendance on Board the Packet of *Cayahoga*,

²⁴ A neighbor in Newport, Kentucky.

²⁵ A long letter to the writer's wife, couched in the sentimental style of the day but conveying no additional information to that which is in the journal, is here omitted.

where several officers were. We were permitted to take our affairs out that remained in the schooner, and they appeared desirous that all Private baggage should be sent to their owners at Detroit, but they feared it could not be done with propriety. Some Officers and citizens sd. if Genl. Brock knew of the circumstances he would order it all given up, and us paroled. The stores, Publick and Private, were all numbered, inventoried and stowed away in the Kings ware house. The baggage being wet from the leakage of the vessel, Mr. Gooding took that of 4th Regt. on board the *Thames* to have it dried. The officers in opening and examining the baggage behaved with great *delicacy* and *propriety*.

Wednesday July 8th Warm and clear day. On shore for a few hours. About 100 Indians collected on the wharf and had a long war dance. Sailors of the *Queen Charlotte* gave them three cheers from her rigging, beat their drums and fifes and fired several cannon. They were socks²⁸ and were much pleased with the report of Cannon. I was gratified having never before seen a War dance. They generally take a route through town and dance before peoples doors for which they receive presents whisky etc., as in the U. S.

I have seen the great Tecumseh. He is a very plane man, rather above middle size, stout built, a noble set of features and an admirable eye. He is always accompanied by Six great chiefs, who never go before him. The women and men all fear that in the event of Genl. Hull's crossing and proving successfull, that the Indians being naturally treacherous will turn against them to murder and destroy. Genl. Hull will not receive their service, I think, and if he did he would not suffer them to wrong anyone. Mr. Gooding was on shore this evening and says that Capt. Duer informed him that this morning on Exam[en]ing Genl. Hull's trunk he found in it a declaration of War, enclosed to Genl. H. by the Secretary of War. Is it possible! ! ! Mr. Gooding says he read the declaration! !²⁹—The schooner *Nancy* a merchant vessel owned by Mr. McIntosh is a beautiful and swift sailing vessel. Solomon, Miami, Dolson, Dover, McIntosh, Thames.

Thursday July 9th. On shore for a while as usual. Rain afternoon. Very warm and clear afterwards. Capt. Duer told me what Mr. Gooding last night stated, and observed that Genl. Hull got the declaration by an express that reached him at the foot of the Rapids. True an express did reach the Army there, the evening before we left them.³⁰ Why then did Genl. Hull send a sick and unprepared set of men in the face of the enemy without giving them even a caution? This is an enigma which time only will solve. I trust there is some mistake attending this representation. I must not suspect until I know more.

Justification.

Note. Mr. Gooding saw the declaration on the 7th in the evening and Capt. Duer made the above statement to me on the 8th.

²⁸ Sauks.

²⁹ See the introduction. The names which follow are apparently of vessels owned or seen at Amherstburg.

³⁰ If so, it appears not to have been from Washington.

SCHOONER THAMES,

July 9th, 1812

Commodore Hall's polite tender of an awning for the *Thames* is accepted and I should be glad to have it on Board as soon as may be convenient.

WM. K. BEALL.

Friday July 10th. A clear day and the scorching rays of Phoebus not less powerful than usual. The extreme heat of the sun has hitherto rendered the deck intolerable, and to be confined to the cabin during the day, where not a current of air could reach us, has been very unpleasant. Commodore Hall this morning furnished the vessel with an awning which has completely remedied this as far as relates to the privates, but to us the advantage is only a partial one, the deck being so crowded, and it is not pleasant to be seated among and crowded by them, yet as American soldiers and fellow prisoners they have my respect and sympathy. While writing the above some hardy tars have been engaged in lowering the *Thames* near a quarter of a mile down stream, above the Indian Camp 300 yards. We are quietly anchored under the safe keeping and protection of a Sergt. and six of the Militia. On the 7 Inst. Col. Cass carried favourable accounts to our army of our treatment. Since that our liberties have been daily curtailed. Never was I favored with such unshaken, such exulting fortitude. I never supposed that I could have borne so unfortunate an allotment with so much resignation. I am prepared for the worst of events. Misfortunes are essential to our happiness, they smoothe the rugged path of life, give a zest to the enjoyment of blessings when granted us, and prepare us for the dreary mansions of the grave.

What greatly promotes my cheerfulness is the expect[ta]tion of our gallant little army shortly relieving us from this melancholy situation. We daily anticipate that period with the fondest expectations. How fortunate is it for man that happiness depends on the mind instead of external circumstances. Though I am a Prisoner on board this vessel, my walks on shore formerly limited to an indifferent Inn 60 yds from the bank and now perhaps may be denied that priveledge, yet I am as happy, yes and sleep more soundly, than His britanic majesty, the Prince Regent or any of their Red Allies. I have been anxiously watching the setting of the sun, fondly thinking that my Melinda, agreeable to promise, is viewing the same object with the same melancholy delight, with the same solicitude; and is now reciprocating with fervency and truth my indefinite feelings and wishes. This will prove a comfort and healing balm. That sun which shines on her in the hospitable region of Kentucky, will also warm and revive her William in this frozen zone. Those ve[r]y beams which shines on her will point to me and gild my captive life. Night begins to spread her pitchy mantle over the bosom of the River and my pen must cease. May *heaven* bless my girl.

Saturday July 11th 1812. As far as relates to locality, this situation is as pleasant as our former one, but in other respects not so much so. There we could procure milk, butter, cherries, and many necessaries, at a high price, without much difficulty, here we cannot. There the *Thames* not being anchored below any vessels, we had as pure water to drink as the River afforded, here we are compelled to drink water that has floated through all the evacuations and filth of the shipping and wharfs.

I am told there are no springs in this country and that well water is no better than River water. That of the River is clear, healthy and not very unpleasantly warm. By filling of Barrels in the evening and keeping it from the sun in the day, and by adding Ice which can be laid in here with great ease and little expense, it would equal any water on the Continent. The cause of our removal I know not. I expect they supposed we saw too much, or conversed with the citizens more than they wished. I never sought opportunities to converse with them, but as much as I could without offending avoided it. They often solicited secret interviews which I would not agree to. However they would occasionally and sily say "Success to the Americans, and Genl. Hull." "Let us alone and we will take Malden ourselves." etc. and many expressions showing their warmth for us and the Americans and their detestation of the British. Many of our Militia guard express a disposition to be with Genl. Hull as soon as he crosses!

The lakes and Rivers here are not subjected to floods or even the smallest rises after hard rains. They are not navigable more than three and at the most four months in the year, owing to their being closed up with Ice.

Last night the Officer of the day came on board, told us we were no longer permitted to go into town, that our walks were limited to a few yards on beach in front of the vessel, and that officers at 9 o'clock in future would go below deck and there continue during the night. Such were the orders of Col. St. George, and thus have our liberties been gradually curtailed. I have not yet felt a fear on account of the Indians, yet if there was danger to apprehend from them in town, must there not be much more here; anchored as close to shore as 12 or 15 yards, and out of the reach of the protection of any vessel. Are we indebted to Col. St. George for the granting of indulgencies which he supposed through fear of the Indians we would not accept, and when he found that tomahawks, scalping knives and frowning Indians whom he refused to protect us from, did not deter us from going on shore we were removed and confined to more narrow and dangerous limits, for the Indians frequently ridicul[e] and severely threaten us in passing by. I went on shore to day purposely to shew them by walking among them (as they went to and returned from town) that I did not fear them. I have not yet requested any indulgencies, and shall in future make as little use of such as are allowed me as possible. My tongue has never been used to plead for favor, and never will I honor these detainers or takers with humble suit. No rather should my head stoop to the Block or dance upon a bloody pole, than stand uncovered and meekly ask them for a kindness. I hope I am exempt from fear, and I am confident that I am able to bear more than they dare execute.

July 12th Sunday.

In busy life mischances store,
On every mortal man await,
Imprisoned thus, methinks I soar,
Above the reach of envious fate.

Another alarm. Heard that our troops were crossing to Sandwich, that the inhabitants were leaving the town and that all the militia and troops of the British were withdrawn from there last night. Great noise in town all night. Carts loaded going down the beach.

Still flow thy streams thou unrelenting tide
 A finished picture of the smiles of fate
 Still shall thy foaming flood convulsive glide
 A faithful mirror of my wretched state.

Like yonder dancing wave I once could move
 Free, uncontrouled and sing on any theme,
 But one short moment flies, and lo, I rove
 A weary prisoner on the watery scene.

My lass was fair, Oh how surpassing fair,
 I saw I praised I loved the maid divine
 Lo fortune smiled deceitful on my prayer
 And Hymen owned the matchless virgin mine.

Eager she'll look and long for my return
 To taste with rapture the connubial kiss
 And though with like Impatience I burn,
 This prison ship still marrs my wish'd for bliss.

Thus here I still my wretched fate resound,
 Witness ye troubled waves I still am true!
 Thus here I cast my longing eyes around,
 And to My fair one bid a long adieu.

Monday July 13th. On board all day yesterday and to day. Cool weather. At 6 oclock P. M. the *Lady Provost*, mounting 14 guns launched to be rigged as a schooner and commanded by Capt. Barwis. Silence prevailed among them all.

From Com. Hall and Capt. Duer we have received the most gentlemanly politeness, the most friendly and hospitable attention and offers, not mere complimentary civilities but a politeness accompanied with a desire to make us comfortable and happy. Such conduct always springs from an honest social and benevolent heart, from a mind too magnanimous to be cruel. Capt. Rollet also has been attentive and polite, but they are all restrained I am confident by Col. St. George.

The sick since the *7th Inst.* have been very badly attended to. The surgeon is old feeble and indolent, and Col. St. George not caring whether they die or live will not make him do his duty.

A beautiful and engaging landscape exhibiting a true and impartial view of the liberties and indulgencies granted and extended to us by the Commanding officer at Malden from the 2ⁿ day of July.

July 2nd. Requested not to consider ourselves as prisoners of war, to walk and amuse ourselves any where in town and to board in town on parole. (Note. See the conditions page — on which this was granted us.) On board a vessel through the deck of which the water runs in streams when it rains.

July 3rd. Requested not to go to the batteries of the Fort.—*Note.* Col. Cass left Fort Malden on the morning of the 7th with accounts of our good treatment. Now mark the difference.

July 7th. Ordered not to go nearer the Fort than Boyles. Permission to go through town below.

July 8th. Limited to Boyles House.

July 9th. Lt. Dent seeing several boats manned and armed and putting out, asked what it was for? For which piece of *impertinence*, the officer to which he directed this innocent yet improper enquiry, requested him to go to Boyles or on Board the *Thames*.

July 10th. Orders not to go into town again, but to walk a few yds up and down stream in front of the vessel, and that all would go below deck at Tattoo and there remain during the night.

July 11. Orders to speak to no one on shore.

July 12. to hail no one passing.

July 13. Not to go on shore again.

Our officers of the day have all been Militia. Some are clever and friendly. Some unable to call the Roll of Prisoners because they could not read.

There are not any water Mills in this part of Canada, but several wind Mills, one on the River below town. This place would be a profitable one for a good steam mill. There are several water Mills on the Rivers Thames and French above here, the nearest of which is Sixty Miles distant from Malden. This evening the order not to go on shore countermanded.

Tuesday July 14th. Any person emigrating to this province, has if he wishes 200 acres of land granted or given to him and his heirs in fee simple by the King, provided he takes the oath of allegiance. The Taxes are by no means oppressive. They are not so heavy as they are in the U States. Capt Martin the Owner of this vessel, who owns several others, has a fine farm 300 acres of first rate land, large stock etc. told me he paid last year only one Dollar and $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents tax. The present year the same, but it was collected two weeks after it was assessed. The inhabitants are taxed sufficient to pay the salaries only of such as are by them elected and put into office; such as the assembly, justices of the peace who are constituted by the Assembly, and some judiciary officers etc. But all the Chief Justices, governors, the naval and military department, half pay officers, Indian agents and all who receive their appointment by the King are paid from England. People dare not speak disrespectfully of the King, the government and its officers. *Nor dare they* say the King is dead for 12 months after his decease. The people have every chance to live well here in time of Peace. The land is fertile and markets good; but in war it is different. Old and young are all pressed into the Militia and their farms, grain etc. is going to destruction for want of attendance and reaping.

The British have treated their provinces well to induce people to settle in them, but as soon as they become populous and wealthy they would then oppress them with burdensome taxes. On board —

July 15. Wednesday. Notwithstanding the many advantages this country has possessed, the Canadian French are miserably poor. I am told they are very lazy and starve half the year. They appear to be peripatetic philosophers who tax providence with a livelihood, and like Diogenes enjoy a free and unincumbered estate in sun shine. They look less military than any men I ever saw—small and ugly as the Devil. They are usually dressed in garments suitable to their fortune; being curiously fringed and fangled with the hand of time, and are helmeted with old fragments of hats which have acquired the forms of sugar loaves, and so far do they carry their contempt for the adventitious distinction of dress, that some appear like Indians, and I have seen

many, the remnant of whose shirts, but partially covered their tawny backs, and dangled like a pocket-handkerchief out of breeches which were never washed but by the bountiful showers of heaven.

Thursday 16th. July. Not on shore yesterday nor to day. No officers except those on duty have visited us since we were removed. Capt. Brown of the 4th U. S. Infy came to Fort Malden with a flag of Truce but did not see any of us. Capt. Brown brought letters from Genl. Taylor and Majr. Berry, which Capt. Duer sent me at night and stated that he was going up with a flag in the morning and would convey me answers.

[Blank pages for letters which were never inserted.]

From Genl. Taylor's letter he expected Capt. Brown would see me. To abuse still more the power which the British have over our *bodies*, they have taken a Boy who was a sailor on board the *Thames* and who procured us all the necessaries we have had, and confined him on shore; so that I expect we must now eat John Bull's pork and Bread or starve. What our next treatment will be I can only anticipate. We have every reason to look for much worse, and I hope I shall bear it with becoming fortitude.

"All places that the eye of Heaven visits
Are to the wise man ports and happy havens."

Shaks.

This is a most happy and conciliatory sentiment, worthy of a place in every breast; a fine shield against discontent, and a most excellent balm for minds under adverse circumstances. Answered Genl. Taylor's letters and have them ready to send. Unable to see the Commanding officer or know anything about his Papers mentioned in his letter as being in his trunk. From Genl. T's letter our army are at Sandwich,²⁹ and I hope shortly to see them at Malden. We shall take the guards' arms away, and meet them at the Fort to share the glory. We could now confine our guard, but the river and shores are so closely guarded that we could not escape.

Rain poured through the deck into the cabin which is very unpleasant in all weathers. We are confined by special order to the vessel and not allowed to go on shore, which was useless as I have not been on shore for some time, nor intended doing so till I could do it on more liberal and officer like terms.

Friday July 17th. Up all night preparing papers and letters to Genl. Taylor, Berry, and my beloved Melinda. But Capt. Duer has not called. Heard that our troops encamped last night within six miles of town. Most glorious news. We hear many unfounded reports yet I think this very probable, for women and carts of property were passing down the road without much intermission all night. No Indians seen going to town this morning except squaws. A squaw sd. to be in the keeping of a surgeon frequently passes us. She is handsome, and dressed in Indian Style, but as richly and as magnificently as an empress. Heard the war hoop and yells of the Indians all night. About 5 or 6 oclock this evening a number of Indians armed as if returning from an expedition, passed the vessel, one [of] whom sd. that a Yankee had gone home. They fired off all their guns above and below the vessel but not so as to touch it. Shortly after, Col. McKee an American by birth,³⁰ at the head

²⁹ Hull had crossed over to Sandwich on July 12.

³⁰ Apparently Capt. Thomas McKee, superintendent of the Indian Department of Upper Canada.

of about fifty naked Indians, himself dressed in *aboriginal style*, halted opposite to us, and hoisting a fresh scalp, stretched on a bough and fastened on a long small pole, shook it at us with the most savage acclamations of exulting joy. It is impossible to describe my feelings on beholding the bloody scalp of a brother soldier, or to refrain from execrating such ungenerous conduct. Regardless of life I abused Col. McKee as long as he remained, (and a number of officers who had come up; when he had gone.) I vented all the rage created by my wounded feelings on them for suffering it, and foolishly abused the King and all the officers of the British government indiscriminately. One of them cried out "Worse than treason", and walked off saying he would report me to Col. St. George. I replied that I was prepared to undergo any punishment they dare inflict, or that their tyranny might suggest.

It was a sight calculated to arouse the most indignant feelings, which would have chilled the frigid blood of a Laplander, which would have crimsoned the tawny cheek of an unrelenting Turk; and which I suppose would have awakened even in the unfeeling bosoms of the most ferocious savages, sentiments of horror, resentment and disgust.

The greatest virtue of a soldier is to diffuse happiness to his prisoners and if possible to make them comfortable; but it appears as if Col. St. George and others here endeavour to multiply misery. It is the character of none but the father of iniquity and those who obey him to rejoice at the distress their inhumanity occasions. They should recollect that everyone can feel the thrill of pleasure and the pangs of pain; and they ought, therefore upon principles not only of speculative philosophy, but of common humanity, to avoid the infliction of every [un]necessary disaster. There is nothing which shews so much dastardy of spirit as taking a diabolic satisfaction in the oppression of weakness: in directing barbarity and insults against those who have not the power to redress themselves, and who are compell'd resignedly to bear their cruelty and insults. All are willing to pronounce aloud the baseness of the wretch, who would abuse the old for the mere exercise of his strength; and kindle into rage at the injuries they receive themselves; and yet many of them are far from "doing unto others as they would have others do unto them." What is the man who in the pride of power, insults and oppresses such as have neither the power to conquer or resist him? A stain to the name of a soldier, a disgrace to manhood and a blush to humanity. Such a man is Col. St. George, who would behold the last gasp or groan bursting from an expiring and defenceless being, without the discomposure of a feature or a muscle.

With what different pleasure is the tender heart affected, and how differently does the amiable the noble soldier conduct himself. Judging others by himself he knows they are not insensible to pain or insult.

Rained hard, our the cabin flooded as usual.

Saturday July 18th. The sick are badly attended to. Doctor Davis's fault no doubt. The officer of the day to whom we have complained of the Doctor's inattention, and who reports him to Col. St. George, says that he believes that the Col. tells the Dr. publicly to visit them often, and privately orders him not.

Capt. Duer has been friendly in sending us vegetables, and Col. Caldwell has sent us mutton, fruit, milk etc. frequently. Rain. Pleasant.

Sunday July 19th. An alarm—Cold day—Slight rains.

I have been unwell for several day and took medicine but my illness increases. I have high fevers etc. Some Indians after dark passing the vessel fired on it, several balls struck the Rigging, and one passed close by my left ear. We are all kept below after Tattoo, and are not permitted at any time to go up the shrouds of the vessel.

The French Horn is winded here for Tattoo. Its sounds are melancholy and more pleasing than the most sublime music; and what renders its sounds still more agreeable is that it brings forth and notifies me of a period when rolled in my blanket I enjoy a shore respite from the cares of the day.

In my sleep the air drawn figure of my Melinda often rises to my view; beauteous as an angel, gentle as the spring, smiling on me with enchanting tenderness and yearning to my fond embrace. In dreams, with rapturous fondness, I have pressed her to my bosom, felt her soft touch, heard the sweet accents of her voice, and gazed upon her lovely countenance till every sense was lost in extacy and love.

An Original Fragment.

In the wilds of Canada and on the margin of Lake Erie, where bending willows formed a rude alcove, Edwin the friend of misery and Love, stood pensively leaning on a rugged rock and thus expressed himself "O my Ellen, when I reflect on the distance I am from you and the improbability of my return, I am lost in an overwhelming sea of misery. Your cruel and unmerited misfortunes called up the tenderest emotions of my heart, and strengthened my wishes to become [the] enviable partner of your griefs and joys. My wished were gratified and but a few short days of joy rolled over our heads, when, events compelled a short as we then thought, but I fear a long separ[a]tion.

But ne'er shall absence, time or pride,
Unloose the knot that love has tied!
No! let the Eagle change his plume,
The leaf its hue, the flower its bloom,
But ties around this heart are spun,
Which cannot, will not, be undone.

Monday July 20. Capt. Barwis came this morning and towed the *Thames* up to the lower end of the Dock yd. a place of more safety from Indians. How[ev]er two of them stopped this evening, came as near as they could and taking rest behind a pile of stone fired at us, but were rather far to shoot with accuracy, their guns firing like shot guns and not much better. An Indian passed us last night and shaking an American musket [at] us sd. Chomokoman. He had his own on his shoulder. Capt. Barwis say[s] the troops have a skirmish each day and that 500 Americans troops were [with]in 2 miles of Malden yesterday.^a He says several of our troops are killed and one british regular killed and another wounded and taken.

Tuesday July 21st. Soon after I was taken, I conversed with a man named Hazlet, who says he aided the Indians at the Battle of the Blue Licks (by order of the British) where so many brave Kentuckians were decoyed and butchered. He says that 600 Indians were there and that the whites killed many and fought uncommonly brave and resolute, and that they at one time drove the Indians. He says that the British em-

^a On the occasion of McArthur's skirmish at the Rivière aux Canards.

ployed many others in the Indian wars and have since given them officer's or Captain's half pay. He missed his half pay by not applying, but now draws full pay and commands a company of Indians. I am told he frequently boasts of the men and women he has scalped and how he has taken children by the heels and knocked their brains out against trees. Capt. Sharp who was ill at Boyles, wanted some beer, Hazlet had been very attentive and friendly to him, and offered to get it. Capt. Sharp gave him a dollar to do so, but was never afterwards visited by him. People here say that Simon Girty was *beneficial* to Americans prisoners during the Indian wars; that he often gave all he had to get them their liberty and frequently risked his life to save them from the Indians inhuman tortures, and that there are many Americans in Canada to attest the truth of it. Rained through deck so as to keep us up nearly all last night. I grow very impatient for the arrival of our army. Each day I sit on deck and look out for signs of their approach. And when an alarm occurs which is frequently the case, I am not a little rejoiced. Capt. Hazlet was passing the *Thames* and I asked him if—[*unfinished*]

The officer [*manuscript torn*] carried the above returned with a polite invitation to go to Capt. Duers and with permission to make the examination. I could not find the chest in the King's ware house but I found the portmanteau. Not a paper or letter was in it, and the clothes being wet and damaged I took it on board to have them washed and dried. Capt. Duer had taken all the papers out of the trunk and after having examined them had thrown them promiscuously into a large Trunk. He requested me to call tomorrow and examine them for Genl. Taylor's papers, but sd. he knew nothing of the Trunk. He sd. that some trunks on opening them in the Packet being wet and there appearing to be nothing of much value in them were thrown overboard, and he thought Genl. Taylor's was one of them. I recollect that when the trunks were opened and removed, that Capt. D. observed when they came to Genl. Taylor's and Genl. Hull's that as he expected they contained papers relating to his department, that he would take them unopened to his office and examine them.²² Rained Hard. Cabin very wet. Cold.

The officer of the day stated to us that a sick *private* wanted some articles belonging to him, and Col. St. George sd. that if we would state that they were his he should have them.

July 22nd. 1812. The American officers on board the *Thames* are of the opinion that the box of tongues and a spider applied for by Henry Waring belong to him, no such articles being put specially under our care.

WM. K. BEALL Asst. Qr. M. Gl.
N. W. army.

Col. St. George.

Thursday 23rd July. Very Cold. As Capt. Duer yesterday requested I went to his house and examined all the papers for Genl. Taylor's but

²² St. George writes to Hull, July 16, "With respect to the papers taken in the Schooner, they have upon examination, almost without exception, proved to be public documents, the few of a private nature that may be amongst them, it would cause considerable trouble to select, more indeed than the officer whom I have entrusted with the examination can at present spare." *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXV. 319. But see the next day's entries.

could not find them. Sought again for his trunk unsuccessfully. I saw it in the Packet and suggested that it was left in the Packet. Capt. Duer says not. It is sunk and we cannot look. Capt. Duer said I might take out any private papers and commissions belonging to officers and keep them from them. I took them out but being too cumbersome to put in my trunk I put them up in a Box, which Capt. D. sealed and said he would send by the first flag to Sandwich. I took out such as belonged to Captains Cook, Brown, Snelling, Burton, and Baine Decd. Lieuts. Peters, Peckham, Hawkins and Hill decd. and many others. I think they will get them as Capt. Duer has pledged himself to send them.

Fort Malden is very weak. When we arrived there were about 5 or 700 Indians most of whom as soon as they got their presents and arms fearing the superior force of the Americans went off, leaving about 300. There were not more than 250 or 300 Militia one half of whom have deserted and they have not more more than 100 Regulars, making a force in all of not more than 600 in all. They have been unable to relieve our guard frequently for 48 hours and sometimes more. Col. St. George has been obliged to leave off repairing the Fort for want of men. Fronting the River and the road leading to the River Conor, there are 5 or 6 decayed batteries mounting each a 4 or 6 pounder. At other places there are no pickets, and the Fort is only surrounded by a small entrenchment 4 feet deep and 4 feet wide, and the clay that was dug out of it is thrown up on the inside of it. At one leap I could get into the fort.³³ Cold day.

Friday 26th July. Went on shore to make further examination for Genl. Taylor's papers but was unsuccessful. Not permitted to go through town. Returned in half an hour. Capt. Duer says our militia will not fight. That 300 were routed by 30 Indians when they could have surrounded them. That a large party was defeated at the Bridge,³⁴ that they dropped about 30 muskets and knapsacks and that if the British had pursued them they could have taken a field piece and ammunition wagon. He showed me a U. S. Rifle which he says a man emptied at him at the distance of 30 steps, the ball cut his locks—he charged on the man who ran and left his gun. etc. etc.

The British officers and soldiers begin to laugh at Hull Seeing that he sends his men out skirmishing to the bridge and does not take possession of it and keep it, or come to Malden. He is now the object of their jest and ridicule instead of being as he was formerly their terror and greatest fear. Cold morning. Hard Thunder and some rain.

Saturday 25th July. Pleasant Day. Heard the dead march beat through town. The Officers here justify General [Hull] very warmly in sending us by Malden without letting us know that war was declared. They say if he had made it known, some of his men or Indian guides would have deserted and informed them of it, that the Indians would have defeated him in the black swamp and they would have taken

³³ Opinions respecting the strength of the fort differ somewhat in details. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XV. 99, XXV. 323; Hull's *Trial*, p. 19. There is a map of it, from the Colonial Office Papers in London, in *Mich. Hist. Coll.*, XXV. 235. Richardson, who was an Amherstburg boy, and was at this time attached to the 41st regiment, says, "The fort of Amherstburg could not have sustained a siege of any duration. Quadrangular in its form, four bastions alone flanked a dry ditch, offering little obstacle to a determined enemy. This passed, a single line of picketing, perforated with loop holes for musketry, and supported by a slight breast work, remained to be carried." *War of 1812*, ed. 1902, p. 20.

³⁴ Affair at Turkey Creek Bridge, July 25.

Detroit before he could have reached [it]. They say he was right in not telling us to be ready to defend ourselves, because the army would have suspected that war was declared and the rumour would have reached them. That the Genl. supposed they did not expect a war and that we would go quietly by Malden. And many other reasons equally futile, and useless to mention.

Sunday 26th July. A neutral Indian, a Wyandot, supposed to be Genl. Hull's spy was taken here yesterday and last [night] was put cruelly to death by the Indians. Heard their savage yells when torturing him.

An Indian in a Canoe late last night came along side, and asked for whisky. He had a dead man in his canoe and sd. chomokomon killed him, or that he was a dead chomocomon. I expected it was one of our fallen heroes and was descending into the canoe to ascertain, but the guard compelled me to come back.

To day an Indian was buried with all the honors of war by a subaltern and 25 Regulars. He was killed in the engagement (they say) with Majr. Denny and another was wounded.

About daylight Col. Proctor arrived in a bark canoe with 4 or 5 Indians and as ma[n]y Canadians to work the Boat. He commands the 41st Regt. Infy. A private of Capt. Ulry's Company³⁰ was wounded in the leg by one of his fellow soldiers in crossing a creek when Majr. Denny was defeated. He is now in the guard house on shore. He states that an Indian was killed and s[c]alped by the Americans during the skirmish. The Indians had been ordered not to scalp (for they knew they would scalp British soldiers and pass them for Americans) but to take care of prisoners and bring them to the Fort. They accordingly took this man and delivered him to the British below the river Conor,³¹ but treated him very roughly, tied him neck and hands, and made him march, wounded and bleeding as he was, and beat his back into a jelly with their ramrods to make him march faster. They had no sooner delivered him to the Officers than a squaw came running up, who said the yankees had scalped her brother and demanded his which being refused she, *overlooking all opposition* beat him with her fist. I am told that one squaw always goes into a battle and fights as a man, and is denominated the War Squaw. The Indians, collected to enforce the squaw's wish, and the officers hurried him in a cart to the fort where they followed. Col. St. George gave them 100 pounds to save the lives of him and a man taken by the Crew of the *Charlotte*. They soon returned in a fresh rage, rushed into the guard room armed, offered back the purchase and demanded the Prisoners to torture. It was at the risk of Capt. Duer's life so says the man that he saved his and his fellow prisoners. He had the Indians enticed out with whisky, and kept removing them from one room to another, till he go[t] them secretly after night brought to the prison where they now are and the Indians know not where they are. He is badly wounded but feels pretty well *considering*.

We drank after night many toasts of which the following are a part. [Not given.]

Monday July 27th. Pleasant day. Another Indian honored with a military burial. A private of Col. McArthur's Regt. put on board the *Thames* this evening who states that he left the Army on Saturday evening under Majr. Denny, that he stop'd in the night and being unable

³⁰ Capt. Henry Ulery of the Second Ohio.

³¹ Rivière aux Canards.

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to overtake the troops got lost. He states that he was chased and fired on by a number of Indians about day light, and happening to run to the River Detroit he saw a boat landing from the *Queen Charlotte* to learn the cause of the firing. He ran to the boat for protection from the Indians was taken Prisoner and sent to Malden, where the Indians claimed him as their Prisoner. He says the Americans have not lost a m[an b]y the enemy and only one wounded except the one now in the prison, which proves the great reports of the British about killing, wounding and defeating our troops to be false. They report those things to encourage the few that remains with [them] to prove loyal, and endeavour by many and innumerable false means to prevent the desertions of Militia, such as stating that Canada will never be resigned by the British, that America cannot conquer it, That she will waste her means and distress her citizens to support the war, and that internal commotions will compel her to make peace. That the Canadians will be butchered, their houses plundered and lands taken from them by the Americans, if successful. etc.

Indeed they depend more upon party divisions and disturbances among our people than they do on their own strength. The British Officers say that nothing is more easy than the conquest of all Canada, yet they must and will resist as long as they can in hopes that popular clamour will cry down the war. etc.

I have learnt the cause of our little messengers confinement. Butter being scarce at Amherstburgh Capt. Martin permitted him to go to his farm about 12 miles above on the River to get some for us, and notwithstanding for some days previous the guard examined all that went in and out the vessel, he was confined under suspici[on] of having carried letters to the Army at Sandwich for us. I am told he is sick and have sent him a dollar. His situation is painful to me. He was kind and obliging to us but as loyal a subject of John Bull's as ever handled rigging. Our landlord Boyle was a deserter from Waynes army, and I am sure a true subject; but being friendly to us, was suspended from being Sergt. Majr. of Militia and eventually put in the ranks. He is a Hibernian. Such is their fear and jealousies that they dare not trust themselves scarcely, and suspicion is enough to destroy there best friends.

Tuesday 28th July. A Blank in my Register.

Wednesday 29th July. About seven oclock heard a heavy fire of Artillery and musquetry in the direction of Browns Town, which lasted near an hour and a half. 4 Boats with 25 regulars each went out as a reinforcement, and many canoes loaded with Indians. At that time there could not have been more than 60 men in the Fort. The firing caused the *Queen* to sail down near the Fort. The cause of the firing I am told was this. Mr. Greely surveyor of Mischigan and some others from Washington City were endeavouring to pass up to Detroit behind the Islands in a boat, and were attacked by one of the British gun Boats guarding that pass. They landed and defended the Boat from shore, assisted by two companies of Militia. None killed on any side. While the whites were contending, the Indian Canoes took the boat a prize. In it were found many handsome boots, cloaks, clothing etc. all of which the Indians sold for mere trifles. Two Barrels of which they knocked the [heads] out of and drank, a Barrel of Rosin and several Barrels of Flour, which they being drunk disputed about the division of, and to quell the disturbance they rolled them into the River. They took the

deeds of all the people of the Territory of Mischigan, many Private valuable Papers, dispatches to Genl. Hull, and upwards of \$3000 in Bills. So they Say. I have heard of several of Genl. Hull's expresses being killed by the Indians and the papers brought in.

I can scarcely think that Genl. H. will be defeated but appearances justify such a belief. I am confident that he will not take Malden though 300 men could do it. Why does he send his troops out reconnoitering gradually weakening his Army without any object in view? Why does he not by taking Malden, silence and drive the Indians away who infest the Country and secure a safe communication with the States, and safety to our Frontiers? Heaven only knows. I for a Harrison, a Daviess or a Wells.

Thursday July 30th. The River Detroit runs a South cours[e] into the Lake and as far into the Lake as the sight can extend the eye meet with no interruption. The breeze that enters the Cabin Windows blows my candle so that I can scarcely see to write. The officers here tell us lately that we were fortunate for us that we did not reach Detroit etc. When we say not—They reply that we will soon be convinced that our situation is better than if we were with Genl. Hull. They say that in a few days they will compel him to leave their shores if he had three times the number of troops that he has, with a confidence that awakens my Suspicions. The American troops at Detroit and Sandwich can certainly conquer this part of the Province, and they formerly said so. They get all Genl. Hull's dispatches, know everything that happens in our army, and say that Genl. Hull is continually sending for reinforcements, and provisions, and writing to the government how deplorably he is situated. These statements come from Officers who are at the head of Affairs here, and I begin to anticipate with Pain and fear the fate of an Army that is brave and large enough to subdue All that part of Canada which lies above Niagara.

The prisoner put on board the other day Says the Army are preparing to come to Malden and they expect to be down in five days. This has created a hope which I hope will soon be realized. How then can I see a man in whose skill I never had confidence, but whose Integrity I never doubted till lately. I shall rejoice to find my suspicions incorrect. I have not communicated them to any one.

The vessel we are in is very unpleasant and is increasing by the men remaining in it. The cabins are leaky and confined, and at night I am compelled to respire the unhealthy and nauseous vapours arising not only from the decayed and moulded timbers of the vessel, but also from the Prisoners in the hold, without anyone to procure necessities from on shore, but some of the guard who are Canadian French whom I cannot understand; and who perform errands reluctantly, often without success and but indifferently at best.

A Heavy Storm is rising. I once enjoyed the blessings of liberty in its most comprehensive sense. I am now a Prisoner. I once associated with the most gay, the most hospitable, and enlightened circles of society. I am now surrounded by a set of men, whose sympathy is not congenial to my own, who know not how to assimilate ideas and feelings, and from whose eyes one enlivening beam of intelligence was never known to emanate. I once as inclination directed could enjoy the gaiety and bustle of the Town, or the more peaceful and retired pleasures of the country. This old schooner is now my only habitation.

With my dog and my gun or avocations not less amusing, I once obtained that exercise which nature imperiously demands. Here I enjoy neither exercise nor health. When wearied and tired I once had a well chosen little library to resort to. But here the scientific and historic page was never opened, here the hand of Mortality never pointed to an Addison or the facetious Sterne never created a smile. Here the finger of taste has never pointed to the beauties of a Goldsmith, the sublimity of a Homer, or a Milton, or Sympathy ever clasped a Shensstone to her bosom. The flowers of — have bloomed unnoticed and unregarded here. The sweet harmony of — has never been heard to vibrate in these wilds, and the name of — is unknown to the people of this illiterate world. I once was among friends and relatives, how great is now the reverse. And above all I once clasped to my bosom "whatever fair high fancy forms or lavish hearts can wish." I once reposed on the bosom of love innocence and sympathy, and when any cares obtruded themselves I imparted them to that being whom I love beyond all expressing, and received relief. What a distance now divides us, and barriers there are to prevent our again meeting shortly. See what unfortunate revolutions are made in a few short minutes. May my Melinda sleep soundly and undisturbed by the storm which is now beginning to rage with fury. The lightning and thunder is emblematical of my fate. At one moment all sunshine and prosperity, the next an overwhelming burst of ill fortune reaches me accompanied with the most sable darkness. Such Thunder I never heard. The winds are high to an extreme. The Schooner *Nancy* is blown afoul of our vessel, the rigging is tangled and fastened together and our prisoners are all rising to separate them.

Friday July 31st. On Board the *Lady Provost* mounting Ten 12 pounders and a long Six in the stern and another in the bow. A port hole fore and aft is vacant.

Early this morning the Provost Marshall came on board the *Thames*, and said he was sorry to inform us that the Commanding officer had ordered him to notify Mr. Gooding Dent, myself, Capt. Sharp and Sloy [?] to go on board the *Lady Provost* which would sail in a few hours. We obtained permission to take our Cook Delong with us. About 11 o'clock A. M. the *Lady Provost* dropped down below the Point of the Island, and an officer came alongside the *Thames* with a Boat, received us and our baggage and took us down to the vessel. Just before we reached the vessel the officer told us we were going to York, the Capital of Upper Canada, where we would have a limited Parole, but he [said] he thought it almost certain that we would go on to Quebec. Capt. Barwis who commands the *Lady Provost* also thinks Quebec is the place of our destination. The Schooner *Nancy* sails under convoy of the *Lady Provost* for Fort Erie, to assist in carrying up reinforcements. Capt. Birwis [Barwis] said we would be allowed the use of the Quarter Deck during the day, but at sunset we must go to the hole where he would have us as comfortably fixed as he could, and if we wished to come on deck during the night we must get permission of the Sergt. of the guard. He apologised and said he was sorry he could not give us Cabin room they were so crowded; and said if it was in his power his orders were not to do so, and he must obey them. By the By, there was only one passenger in the Cabin and his wife. He said that he would have a small lumber room cleared where Mrs.

Gooding could sleep. Mrs. Gooding fretted and cried, and after some time he condescended very generously to let Mr. G. sleep with his wife; but he must not go to bed to her till 10 o'clock and he must send one of the guard to let his Excellency know his desire, and he would then give orders for the guard to convey him to the Door. Frequent Squalls and hard rains during the Night. Contrary winds consequently did not sail.

On Board the Lady Provost.

Saturday 1st August 1812. This Schooner is cut for 14 guns, mounts 5 Nine pound carronnades on each side and a long six in the bow and stern. The vessel sailed about sunrise with a brisk and fair gale. Thirty miles from Malden passed a number of Islands (sd. to be 30 in a cluster) on some of which are a great number [of] wild hogs, and almost every species of quadruped and game. That part of the Lake lying West of the Islands though a very broad and extensive sheet of water is usually termed Detroit Bay. At Put In Bay there is a large Island and a handsome farm belonging to a gentleman of Ohio, whose tenant resided on it when we passed it. This Bay is formed by several Islands, is narrow, deep, and said to be infinitely the best harbour on Lake Erie. In times of severe storms the vessels no matter where their destination generally endeavour to make this harbour. The Islands are generally well timbered, and the soil fertile. On some of them are large quantities of superior cedar, which is conveyed from them in vessels by the British and gentlemen of Canada for stockades and fences. The basis of Islands from the ledges of rock which surrounds them appears to be stone. We passed two not more than 40 or 50 yds in diameter, on which were trees and herbage. Several others are so small that was their foundation composed of a less solid substance would soon be washed away by the waves. Would not this considerably justify an opinion that Lake Erie was once land and that it has been sunk by an earthquake, or gradually formed by the waters of Lake Superior and Huron when forcing their passage into the atlantic ocean? The rocks on the south side of those Islands are very much infested with Rattle snakes, but not so much so "as to render it dangerous to land." The situation of the Islands appears greatly to favour the growth and increase of serpents, and they are probably more numerous here than in most parts of North America.

Between some of the Islands and near the shore in other parts of the Lake, the surface of the water is covered with the leaves of the pond lily, on which may be seen on warm days great numbers of water snakes, but not "Myriads" as Morse expresses it. The hissing snake, a small and very poisonous serpent which he describes certainly exists but not in great numbers, and the irremediable and fatal decline produced by breathing the nausea which it emits on approach is calculated only to astonish the credulous. Sounded past the Islands. From 9 to 37 fathoms water. Heaving the lead and log is to me a novelty. The *Lady Provost* is not so fast sailer as the *Nancy* by one third. $7\frac{1}{2}$ Nots an hour. From the Islands steered a north east coast. When I compare the rapidity of my progress with the slowness of my returned I am miserably dejected. For the first time I have been beyond the view of land, and for the first time I shall shortly see the sun sink beneath the bosom of the Lake. There is *one* whose heart is at this moment beating to the same fond wishes and impulses of my own, who is sympathising in

my sorrow, and offering her plaintive Orisons for my health, happiness and quick return. And O how fervently do I reciprocate her feelings and return her prayers. My pen must no longer withhold me from the enjoyment of this melancholy pleased.

Sunday 2nd. August. On Board the *Lady Provost*. Sailed all night—Fair and heavy wind—High sea. From $7\frac{1}{2}$ to Nine Knots an hour. Mountains on the American shore appear like blue clouds. Sea Sick.³⁷

Passed a point of land projecting into the Lake several miles called Long Point. Could see land faintly without being able to distinguish objects. Evening. Heavy storm rising.³⁸

6 o'clock. P. M. All the sails except the mainsails settled away and a reef taken in them. Lay to or Beat about—below deck all but sailors.

Tuesday 3rd August. On Board the *Lady Provost*. Sailed about 12 o'clock at night the storm having then abated. Within perfect view of the American shore and the towns of Buffalo and Black Rock. The Landscape is beautiful and *enticing* beyond description.

Passed Point Ebenan.³⁹ At 11 or 12 anchored at Fort Erie.

When mournful evenings gradual vapours spread, etc.

Wednesday August 4th. Still on Board the *Lady Provost*. Wind changed fair for Amherstburgh last night, and about daylight this morning the *Nancy* and *Hunter* sailed about Sixty Regulars to reinforce Malden.⁴⁰ Genl. Brock has gone up by land with 400 men principally Militia to operate against our army.

³⁷ Here three stanzas from *The Pains of Memory* are omitted.

³⁸ Here the writer has copied into his journal Osborn's *The Sailor*, which we omit.

³⁹ Abino.

⁴⁰ They reached Amherstburg August 8, and, sent across the river at once by Procter, reinforced the British just before the engagement at Maguaga on the 9th. Richardson, p. 35.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF GENERAL AND ANCIENT HISTORY

The New History: Essays illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. vii, 266.)

THESE essays treat of The New History, The History of History, The New Allies of History, Some Reflections on Intellectual History, History for the Common Man, The Fall of Rome, The Principles of 1789, and The Conservative Spirit in the Light of History. All but one have seen the light before. For reappearance, however, they have been modified or supplemented here and there, and welded to a common theme.

This theme appears to start from the premise, that "society is to-day engaged in a tremendous and unprecedented effort to better itself"; that "what we rather vaguely and provisionally call social betterment is coming to be regarded by large numbers of thoughtful persons as the chief interest in this game of life". If this be conceded, it is asked, does not the supreme value of history lie for us in what help it may give on this great present-day task of human betterment?

So far, however, historians have not set themselves to furnish us the help they might. History—history alone—can make the present intelligible. "Could we suddenly be endowed with a Godlike and exhaustive knowledge of the whole history of mankind . . . we should gain forthwith a Godlike appreciation of the world in which we live and a Godlike insight into the evils which mankind now suffers, as well as into the most promising methods for alleviating them, *not because the past would furnish precedents of conduct, but because our conduct would be based upon a perfect comprehension of existing conditions founded upon a perfect knowledge of the past.*" History ought at least to aid us toward such knowledge. But this one thing that it ought to do, it has not effectively done. "It is this most significant form of history's usefulness that has been most commonly neglected."

Then let historians change their ways. Let them escape "from the limitations formerly imposed on the study of the past"—for example, attend less to the merely conspicuous and more to the common and homely. Let them find allies in every possible quarter—anthropology, prehistoric archaeology, social and animal psychology, comparative religion, political economy, political science, and the rest: criticising, guiding, synthesizing for some; drawing aid and life from all.

Let more of them attend to intellectual history. For "in the career of conscious social readjustment upon which mankind is now embarked, it would seem as if the history of thought should play a very important part." "What more vital has the past to teach us than the manner in which our convictions on large questions have arisen, developed and changed?" The history of thought "not only enables us to reach a clear perception of our duties and responsibilities by explaining the manner in which existing problems have arisen, but it promotes that intellectual liberty upon which progress fundamentally depends". Such reform on the part of historians would tend to make of history not only a more useful means for education, but an indispensable aid in the whole management of society. Still more, history would come to promote enthusiasm for progress, and nurture radicalism. "The radical has not yet perceived the overwhelming value to him of a real understanding of the past. It is his weapon by right, and he should wrest it from the hand of the conservative. It has received a far keener edge during the last century, and it is the chief end of this essay to indicate how it can be used with the most decisive effect on the conservative."

Many members of the historical guild will not agree that the "New History" either is or ought to be just as it is portrayed here. He must be however a most pachydermous conservative who will fail to find in these essays much mental food that is both palatable and wholesome. They abound in comments that command assent, they are charmingly written, and they discuss with cumulative force the bearing of history on the present.

E. W. Dow.

Historical Research: an Outline of Theory and Practice. By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, Professor of European History, Johns Hopkins University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1911. Pp. v, 350.)

A BOOK of the kind in hand can be judged from two points of view: from the view-point of a fellow-worker in the field of history, and from that of a beginner who is about to enter the field. Though it is for the latter that the book is intended it is obvious that your reviewer can best consider it from the standpoint of the former

In certain directions Professor Vincent's book appears not to measure up to the rules which are set down in its own pages. Thus, the section which treats of methods and means of testing the genuineness of documents makes no allusion to the metrical tests which have been so useful in determining the authenticity of the papal correspondence of certain periods. The phraseology of the book is here and there somewhat unusual, at times it is even obscure. "Even in the more studied literary hand there came developed pass usages which were due to the reed or the pen" (p. 49). "As a subject of study abbreviations command great respect and any attempts to further classify and set them in

order are to be welcomed" (p. 34). "The methods of the investigating economists are, therefore, to be recommended for valuable suggestion" (p. 276).

Still, let it be emphasized, that these are after all secondary matters, and are not the criteria by which to judge the book. A more serious objection will be raised by the reader against the organization of the material. In a general way the book follows the order of development used by Bernheim, though it has also been influenced by Wolf, but the material has in this instance not been rigidly outlined and classified. This fault is apparent from the table of contents, which consists of the chapter headings. On closer examination it will be discovered that these headings are not always guides to what appears in the body of the chapter. Chapter xv., *Criticism and Interpretation of Records*, after an allusion to internal criticism, treats the topics stated by the marginal notes as follows: public documents, legislative records, the preamble, customary law, law and reality, criminal law and civilization, primitive constitutions, danger of the exceptional, records of discussion, value of reports, genesis of a law, petitions, municipal records, medieval ordinances, modern ordinances. Another instance. Chapter xxii., *The Constructive Process*, deals with the following: combination of previous labors, divisions of history, trivial causation, physical environment and its effect on man, including the relation of geography to history and the economic interpretation of history.

Evidences of this inadequate outlining are also to be found in the text. "Fictitious speeches" are discussed twice (pp. 35, 140); the influence of physical environment on man is touched upon repeatedly (pp. 5, 9, 265, 273, 275). The whole of the first chapter is devoted to determining what history is. This ought to end the matter, but the function of history is restated from time to time (pp. 249, 261, 302, 318, and *passim*), and toward the end of the book the author still finds it possible to discuss the question whether history is an art (p. 304).

In the arrangement of the book there are two conspicuous faults. The opening pages of the volume (pp. 13-14, and especially p. 18) place such stress upon the difference between historical materials which furnish "conscious and unconscious evidence", that one might assume the distinction to be fundamental; but, though the two kinds of evidence are mentioned repeatedly, the distinction between them forms no part of the skeleton of the work, except in these first pages. A sharp distinction is also drawn between external and internal criticism (pp. 19-20), and we read of the latter that it is "often called Higher Criticism, since it deals with more important matter than external form". In view of this statement and the fact that external criticism is treated in a chapter by itself, we should expect a chapter at least on internal criticism. But there is none, and the index does not mention internal criticism except to refer to the page containing the above passage. It does not really help matters much to find (p. 168) that "this book has brought together pro-

cedures which theoretically might be separated into internal criticism and interpretation", particularly when, as has been shown above, the chapter entitled Criticism and Interpretation of Records does not deal with these matters at all.

As a counterpart to these faults it must now be added that the book is filled with useful information and that the bibliography is quite adequate for the beginner.

Looked at from the standpoint of the person for whom it is primarily intended, "the advanced student who is about to enter the field of research" (p. iii), the book reads well and makes new and useful suggestions, and will be read with profit by students.

EDWARD B. KREHBIEL.

Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie. Von EDUARD FUETER. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. v. Below und F. Meinecke, Professoren an der Universität Freiburg i. B. Abteilung I.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1911. Pp. xx, 626.)

THIS book is unique. It is a comprehensive survey of modern historiography, with concise critical commentary, short biographical sketches, and a bibliographical apparatus from which is eliminated all but those references which really bear upon the subject in hand and embody recent or reliable scholarship. It comes to fill a need long felt by teachers of modern history, and will fill it remarkably well. It is enlightened and objective, yet by no means colorless. The "old masters" are passed in review and placed in their categories, and each one is characterized in bold and definite outline. The difficulty of this achievement is only apparent when one realizes that although we have over 600 large octavo pages, about one-third of which is in small type, there is room for only three pages each on Michelet, Guizot, Fustel de Coulanges, Carlyle, and Macaulay, two on Buckle, four on Taine, six on Hegel, thirteen on Ranke, etc. The necessity for saying things succinctly and well was never more sternly laid upon the author of a work of reference. Since even our encyclopaedias, especially the last edition of the *Britannica*, can almost rival the extent of space devoted to each historian, only keen, incisive characterization, showing real familiarity with the works in question, could save this work from giving the impression of a banal dictionary of historiography. Dr. Fueter has admirably succeeded in this difficult task. His book is a gallery of portraits, firmly drawn, and of penetrating criticism definitely directed. He has caught and summed up in a few words the spirit of Bancroft, of Motley, and of Prescott, he deftly appreciates the achievement of a Fustel de Coulanges and the delicate precision of Maitland, throws over against the rationalist conservatism of Guizot the lyric turbulence of Michelet, and gives us the full blast of Treitschke's Prussianism. From Humanism—the medieval aspects of which do not escape him—to the era

of 1870, the survey is thorough and the method of treatment as novel as the style is incisive. Sometimes one may differ in judgment as to the importance of historians—especially non-German ones—but upon the whole the characterizations are convincing.

It is the plan of the book, rather than the separate parts, which will more probably be called in question—although that also affects the characterizations. For the device by which such clear-cut portraiture has been achieved is by arranging the whole of modern historiography into categories, with much emphasis upon *Zeitgeist* and leading ideas. There is warrant for such a method, to be sure, in the view of history and historians held by that master of objectivity, Ranke. But while this plan contributes to the success with which each historian is so deftly labelled, the reviewer believes that it is overdone. It presents a synthesis of modern historiography which amounts to a history of ideas about history rather than a direct history of historical achievement. One can see this best in the treatment of nondescript historians—especially the English. That typical, rather nonchalant English attitude which roused Buckle's ire also misleads our German author as to the actual value of the contribution. For instance Gibbon is given but two pages as a member—along with Hume and Robertson—of the school of Voltaire, who, by the way, receives fourteen. It would be justifiable to classify historians according to a single scheme of ideas if each one had only one idea. But when they have two, as they sometimes have, there is trouble. For instance Heeren is put into a school of Montesquieu, while Möser is given an independent place. Carlyle is given scant justice as one who contributed no new idea to historiography, etc. On the other hand, if the author intended really to give us a history of the dominating ideas among historians, alongside of the full and prominent treatment of Hegel and of Liberalism, we should certainly have something on Marx and the economic and social influences in the interpretation and writing of history. The name of Lamprecht is also missing. A page at the close seems to regard this phase of history as a task for the future—between now and the time when history will become an exact science! But something has already been done in it. We have noted some minor slips in detail—such as the statement that Freeman did not take an active part in politics—but, upon the whole, the book is done with great care, and will be indispensable to all students of modern history.

J. T. SHOTWELL.

The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries. By W. Y. EVANS WENTZ, M.A., LL.D., B.Sc. (London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1911. Pp. xxviii, 524.)

MR. WENTZ's book is doubtless intended less for the historian than for the pursuer of psychical research. Nevertheless the subject with which it deals, the popular belief in a supernatural fairy-world, is ma-

terial of history, and particularly important material of literary history, and the parallel which the book draws between the recorded fairy-mythology of the ancient Celts and the living fairy-faith of their modern descendants affords at all events a most striking indication of the persistence of popular conceptions. The author himself is chiefly concerned about the truth of the traditions and the validity of the supernatural experiences which he relates. Accepting them, or at least a certain portion of them ("an X-quantity"), as unassailable, he explains them by the animistic hypothesis that the world is full of spiritual creatures—fairies, demons, or departed mortals—who are capable, under certain circumstances, of affecting the life of human beings. He tries to show, furthermore, that this conception is supported by modern psychical science, which thus confirms the wide-spread beliefs of the people and, in particular, the philosophy of many Celtic seers, ancient and modern. Now both this theory and the body of evidence on which it is based are open to most serious question. The testimony which Mr. Wentz collects concerning various sorts of fairy apparitions is in many cases a very indirect kind of hearsay and in hardly any case has it been subjected to critical analysis or examination. And even if many of the experiences recorded should prove genuine, it would require more thorough and careful argument than Mr. Wentz has produced to exclude the possibility of naturalistic explanations. In its main theses, consequently, the book must be reckoned a rather fanciful performance. But in the course of the argument much valuable material is brought together and discussed, and the development of fairy-belief among the Celtic peoples is probably more fully exhibited than in any previous treatise. Thus Mr. Wentz's services to history may be after all of quite as much permanent value as his more deliberately intended service to psychical research.

Apart from the general considerations already pointed out—the lack of caution which characterizes the author in dealing both with matter of fact and with matters of theory—various detailed criticisms might be made on his work. There is sometimes a confusing lack of order in the arrangement of his material, especially in the earlier chapters dealing with oral testimony. But this was perhaps made necessary in a measure by the plan of the book. The statements of the author's own views are also occasionally obscure, or even seemingly inconsistent. His attitude toward mythological theories, for example, seems now and then to shift and is hard, in general, to make out. (Compare pp. 284, 287, 307, 309, and 321.) In spite of the boldness of his doctrine and the vigor of his statement he does not seem always to have thought his problems thoroughly out. On the historical side, he goes, as he himself confesses (p. 364), beyond the warrant of cautious scholarship in admitting an unbroken connection between modern Welsh Druidism and the ancient Celtic religion, and in using the triads of Iolo Morganwg's collection as evidence of early tradition. His discussion of some important prob-

lems in literary history—such as, for example, the transmission of the Matter of Britain (p. 328), or the relation of Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Arthurian romances (p. 323)—is meagre, or possibly misleading. His bibliographical notes, finally, do not always display an extensive acquaintance with the technical literature of his subject, and some of his references (general citations of the “Book of the Dun Cow” or the “Red Book of Hergest”) are of little value. These various defects occasionally impair the value of Mr. Wentz’s arguments; but, on the whole, they do not destroy the main value of the book, which is competently, and even ably, written. And in view of the fact that the author worked with very little knowledge of the Celtic languages, but was dependent on translations and interpreters, the volume contains surprisingly few errors of fact.

F. N. ROBINSON.

Ἀθῆναι: Storia della Repubblica Ateniese, dalle Origini alla Età di Pericle. DI GAETANO DE SANCTIS. Seconda Edizione riveduta ed accresciuta. (Torino, Roma, Milano: Fratelli Bocca. 1912. Pp. xii, 508.)

IN its first edition this book ended with Clisthenes. Now that two new chapters have been added, one entitled Themistocles and Athenian Imperialism and the other Pericles and the Victory of the People, it reaches almost to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. The earlier chapters have been carefully revised, the European and American literature of the last fourteen years being taken into account. The author does not believe that any one people has a monopoly of science. The press-work of the new book is better than that of the old. Many Greek names and quotations have been replaced by their Italian equivalents, detailed discussions have been transferred to appendixes and still further changes have been made in the interest of the general reader. Beyond question the work has been much improved.

The *Ἀθῆναι* contains a triad of elements constantly recurring: a statement in simplest terms of the ancient report; a detailed and incisive criticism of it—the views of the moderns being dealt with at the same time; and an historical interpretation which is catholic in scope and guided by matured convictions. There is no questioning the author’s knowledge or his professional competency. He has given us an account of the growth of Athenian institutions which is unique in historical literature. A similar orientation as to sources and bibliography would be useful in English.

The general attitude of De Sanctis may be gauged by a few of his conclusions. The close of the Mycenaean period came in the course of the ninth century B. C. The *thesmothetae* were created either along with the archon or a little later and before the polemarch. They were originally judges, perhaps circuit judges. The first Athenian council (apart from that of the Areopagus) was created by Clisthenes. The council

of four hundred attributed to Solon never existed. The *naucraries* were established by Pisistratus. The *diacrii* were not the party of the peasants nor the *paralii* that of the industrial and commercial elements: "ambedue le fazioni popolari erano composte in massima di possidenti". The attempt of Cylon to make himself tyrant falls not in *ca.* 612 B. C., nor yet before Draco in *ca.* 624 B. C. (as the late Professor John Henry Wright maintained before the lost Aristotle was found, and as is now current orthodoxy). Dated properly, according to De Sanctis, it belongs between the first and second tyrannies of Pisistratus in *ca.* 550 B. C. The second expulsion of Pisistratus is, of course, legendary. Naturally the first ejection of the Alcmaeonidae occurred immediately after the failure of Cylon's attempt. The *strategi* were first created by Pisistratus, who however had nothing whatever to do with the establishment of the "deme judges". Election by lot was first used in Athens in Clisthenes's time. Originally devised to draft the citizens in batches of five hundred into the new council, it was extended to all the magistracies between 508 and 487/6 B. C. Ostracism was not first applied but first established in 488/7 B. C. "Son certamente fallaci gli aneddoti sugli scaltrimenti con cui Temistocle avrebbe indotto gli Spartani a tollerare che Atene si circondasse di mura."

De Sanctis is a pupil of Beloch. That means he learned his trade from a ruthless critic of the ancient tradition. In this school the canon is not only held but applied that no reliable account of anything Athenian prior to Pisistratus (apart from that based on the laws and poems of Solon) was extant in the fifth and fourth century B. C. Inferences of the classical authors have less value than those of the modern critical historians. De Sanctis appears everywhere as counsel for the plaintiff in the trial of the tradition. It seems to the reviewer that the defendant does not always get a fair hearing, and that not infrequently a verdict of guilty is secured where a Scotch verdict is alone warranted.

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Jean II. Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I. Comnène (1143-1180). Par FERDINAND CHALANDON, Archiviste Paléographe, Ancien Membre de l'École Française de Rome. [Les Comnène; Études sur l'Empire Byzantin au XI^e et au XII^e Siècles.] (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1912. Pp. lxxiii, 709.)

CHALANDON is already favorably known by his *Essai sur le Règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène*, published in 1900, and by his *Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile*, published in 1907. The present volume is the second in the series on *Les Comnène*, of which his *Alexis* was the first. It is good news that after finishing this series by a third volume extending to 1204, Chalandon proposes to write, "sous une forme moins aride", a history of the Byzantine civilization in the

twelfth century. Such a work is much needed, and the author's peculiar fitness for the task is shown by his illuminating, although fragmentary, discussions of some phases of the civilization.

In the present volume he deals with the reigns of John II. and Manuel I. The documentation is very thorough and is based upon a careful study of the sources, of which the most important results are set forth in forty-five pages of the introduction. There are many excellent notes, into which a vast amount of information is packed. When the sources differ, Chalandon gives all the versions; when he has only one source, he says so. There are very few statements of facts which are not fully supported by the authorities quoted.

The bibliography is excellent and very full. There appears to be only one omission of great importance; although Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* is included, the *Additamentum*, published in 1904, is missed. Ilgen is cited incorrectly as Ilger each time that it is quoted. The continuation of Martin's work in the *Journal Asiatique* is omitted. Probably if the author had used the second part of Martin's work he would also have found some material in the notes of Romanos published in the same volume.

The technical points have been brought in first in this review, and rather minutely, because this is primarily a volume for the specialist and will be most valued for its elaborate apparatus. But in addition the subject-matter is of great service in many lines. It covers all the political history of the Byzantine Empire from 1118 to 1180, and all the relations with the other powers of Europe, Asia, and Africa. It is simply packed with facts. The author, by his accurate and extensive knowledge of the sources, is frequently able to correct the mistakes of such men as Krumbacher, Bernhardi, and Kugler. The volume cannot be neglected by students of the Holy Roman Empire, of the papacy, of the Lombard League, of the Kingdom of Sicily, or of the Kingdom of Armenia. For the Latin states in the Orient, it is especially useful, and Chalandon has made a real contribution by showing how constantly and how completely the desire to maintain their hold upon Antioch influenced the policy of the Greek emperors.

This work is somewhat *aride*, but there are parts of great interest. The characters of the two emperors are admirably portrayed. Manuel, in particular, is described with all his strength and weakness, his vicious private life, his intense interest in theology, his wastefulness, his zeal in reforming the courts, his love of adventure, his pride in his medical skill, and his seductive and strenuous personality. In his study of Alexius, Chalandon was inclined to be a partizan of the Greek emperor; the same point of view is occasionally apparent in this volume, but Manuel is severely censured for his treachery. It is interesting to note how frequently the trend of events was leading to similar developments in the Byzantine Empire and in the west of Europe: *e. g.*, the ideal of altruistic service in the newly established monasteries; the growth of institutions

among the Greeks which were closely akin to feudal institutions in the West. One picturesque passage (p. 464) describes the attempt of the unfortunate aviator, who reminds us of "Darius Green".

There is an index of proper names which fortunately includes references to all of those in volume I., as well as in this volume. A subject-index would be of great use; and the value of the work would be enhanced by a chronological table, as the treatment is wholly topical, and by some maps. The work can now be read intelligently only with an atlas constantly at hand, and not infrequently any atlas is unsatisfactory for some of the territory covered in this volume. But as the criticisms have shown, the defects are of minor importance; the work is excellent, far superior to any previous treatment of the subject.

DANA C. MUNRO.

Documents illustrative of the Continental Reformation. Edited by Rev. B. J. KIDD, D.D., Keble College. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. Pp. xix, 743.)

THIS volume is the first attempt by any scholar in the English-speaking world to present on an elaborate scale sources for the ecclesiastical aspects of the Continental Reformation. The selections run, in point of time, from the flaring-up of the revolt against indulgences down to the death of Calvin; in point of space they cover Germany, Denmark and Scandinavia, German and French Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, Hungary and Poland, and, in pursuance of a happy hint from the late Bishop Stubbs, they embrace even Scotland. The material is divided almost equally between the Lutheran and the Reformed movements; but the main emphasis is properly put on Wittenberg, Zürich, and Geneva. The dominant interest is distinctly Anglican: much space is given to changes in ecclesiastical constitutions and liturgies, as well as to the rise of doctrinal divergences. He who is half disdainful of such details will find in this survival of the sixteenth-century point of view a wholesome corrective; but he will also miss the modern emphasis on social and economic factors.

At first sight the work reminds one of Stubbs's *Select Charters*, minus the glossary. The Latin language predominates, French is well represented, but English, significantly enough, takes the place of German. More inevitable is comparison with Gee and Hardy's *Documents illustrative of English Church History*. Impressed with the usefulness of that collection, Dr. Kidd persuaded the Oxford University Press over a dozen years ago to approve this parallel undertaking; and we now have the slowly matured fruit of his labors. In technique the book is better than Gee and Hardy: the documents are provided with introductory notes which, attenuated as they necessarily are, yet link piece to piece; and the concatenation leads at length to a well-wrought topical index. In subject-matter also the book is more attractive; the extracts are not so largely legal or constitutional; there is more color, more typical

detail, more chance to check up legislative ideals by the dry observations of chroniclers. In one particular, however, the work falls short of its predecessor; whereas Gee and Hardy usually printed their pieces intact, Dr. Kidd leaves out passages very freely; for instance, the dots that signify omissions perforate the thirty-eighth page no less than thirty-four times. How can one draw much from sources, if one must use a sieve? It goes without saying, moreover, that he who reprints sources should find the best texts, no easy matter when the bibliographical tools are as poor as they still are for the sixteenth century. One readily pardons the printing of no. 72 from the abstract in the *Calendar of State Papers Spanish*, and of no. 112 from an abstract by Ranke; but one feels systematic methodical doubt when offered early Latin translations of German originals, such as Seckendorf's version of Melanchthon's *Instructions for the Visitors* (no. 96). It is a further shock to find Luther quoted on the basis of Walch (1740-1752), not from the monumental Weimar edition, which has been in process of publication these thirty years; but this lapse may perhaps be explained by the curious fact that at least up to a couple of years ago the Weimar edition was not accessible in any of the libraries of Oxford. The appearance of Dr. Kidd's book is perhaps the sign of the dawning of a new day in England, and serious students of the Reformation will be grateful to its compiler for his laborious and valuable researches.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1644-1649. By ETHEL BRUCE SAINSBURY, with an Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM FOSTER. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. Pp. xxviii, 424.)

As in previous volumes of this series, already reviewed in this journal, the student finds in this collection careful preparation of the documents, a useful index, and an excellent preface. The material is drawn chiefly from the Court Books of the East India Company, though we find occasional entries from the State Papers Domestic, and from the Home Miscellaneous and the East Indies series of the Public Record Office. The last is now cited as Colonial Office 77. Naturally this volume is important for more than the direct and intimate history of the company, of which, however, only a few phases can be noted.

The situation in the East is not particularly interesting; but the range and increasing variety of the problems involved are suggested in the company's statement of February 8, 1647, that "the trade to the East Indies is settled in the dominions of fourteen sovereign Princes, wherein twenty-three factories are maintained and ninety-two English factors, of all conditions employed. Twenty ships serve these factories, the greater number going from port to port to procure lading for vessels to be dispeeded at the proper season" (p. 188). While "scarsity of

moneyes" existed in 1643 and 1644, in 1648, when prospects had brightened for a short time, nearly £200,000 had been promptly subscribed for a further "general voyage" and the House of Commons had voted its approval of members "subscribing for the better advancement of the Company's trade" (p. 222). Furthermore other ventures, whether under the company by special agreement or as interlopers, talked largely and frequently of even heavier investment. England was not poor when monarchy was ending; but capital was not the only question.

The matter of chartered rights was fundamental. Already the personal government of Charles I. had left its legacy of peril in Courteen's Association. Now the question was complicated by the existence of changing, if pious parliamentary committees to whom optimistic adventurers and serious merchants paid suit. The long delays incident to the excitement of war and religious controversy, the hesitations of the House of Lords as to monopoly, and active and alarming plans of Cromwell's friend, Maurice Thomson, all combined to disturb the company and to endanger its rights. At last with the abolition of the House of Lords the dispute as to the company's powers came before the Council of State, which in turn referred the question to Parliament, thus finally tending to the establishment by that body of a Board of Trade. But shortly Parliament acted independently in authorizing the East India Company to proceed with its trade. This, however, carries us into 1650 after nearly six years of doubt and uncertainty.

From all this emerges at least one point interesting to students of American history. The chief of the new organizers of rival schemes had been Maurice Thomson, of whom later volumes in this series will give further information. And Thomson's interest in imperial matters had first been largely bred by his American experience in Virginian and West Indian trade. He then brought to his Asiatic ventures a conception as to commerce and plantation which struck at the root of the company's jealous control. For in the Assada project he wished to inaugurate real emigration by Englishmen and colonization under his company, to reorganize trade on the coasts of Africa, under the same charter to proceed to any part of the coast of America, and lastly to "obtaine a settled, fortified habitation under our owne [English] government upon the coast of India" (p. 371). This and kindred invasions the East India Company stoutly resisted, though with the Assada merchants they made a compromise as to finance and the chance to trade in India.

On the whole, however, the corporation was fortunate not to have endured heavier losses. For if we may believe their mournful language of 1643 "all trade and commerce in this kingdome is almost fallen to the ground through our owne unhappie divisions at home unto which the Lord in mercie put a good end".

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England. By Sir HENRY CRAIK, K.C.B., LL.D. In two volumes. (London: Smith, Elder, and Company. 1911. Pp. ix, 394; 343.)

It is now seventy-five years since Lister's *Life of Clarendon* appeared. Since then but one considerable account of the great chancellor, that by Professor Firth in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has seen the light, and that is fully a quarter of a century old. Meanwhile a whole library of original material for the seventeenth century has been unearthed and published as it stood, or worked up in monographs, biographies, or histories. Since Lister a long generation of scholars headed by Gardiner, Ranke, and Firth, have discovered to us a whole new revolutionary epoch. Even since the appearance of the tenth volume of the *Dictionary* no small collection of material and studies has been published which throws light upon the age of Clarendon. It would, then, seem high time to have a new biography of the minister, on an appropriate scale, which, even though it added nothing new of its own, should at least gather up all this new material and present it in the light of our present knowledge and understanding of the period. This is the more true in that the lives of eminent Royalists are still all too scarce—and one therefore takes up these new volumes of Sir Henry Craik with peculiar interest and anticipation.

In what spirit and according to what method the present biography has been written, from what material it has been drawn, let the author's own words declare. "I do not propose", he says, "to re-write the history of the Civil War and its sequel. I wish only to depict the character, to appreciate the motives, and to investigate the action of one who was a foremost actor in the great struggle . . . and to claim for him the honour which he deserves as one of England's great statesmen. I am quite aware that, in so doing, I must dispute the adverse and grudging estimates of those who have condemned and belittled his work, and of those hardly less unfriendly critics who have given him but faint and lukewarm praise. . . . I do not claim to have unearthed new documents, nor have I sought, from the obscure memorials that remain, to adduce new facts that might rebut existing records. Even to reproduce, in copious annotations, the foundations upon which my narrative is based, would have encumbered my main object. . . . Amidst the tangled mass, through which we must make our way in order to construct the story, I do not hesitate to declare that I look chiefly to the great record . . . which he has himself left us." And again, "Clarendon's influence is chiefly interesting because he created the abiding tradition of a great party in the State, which lasted for at least a century and a half. It is none the less interesting at this moment, when we seem to have cut ourselves adrift from the Constitutional landmarks of the past." It is not often that an author so relieves a reviewer of his task. Here we have

a biography favorable to the verge of eulogy, derived so largely from Clarendon's own words that parts of it seem little more than a rewriting of the *History* or the *Life*, written from a conservative, high church standpoint, and not uninfluenced by the recent democratic revolution in the British Isles.

How much the book owes to earlier writers in the field we may judge somewhat from his description of Lister, "that most luke-warm of all biographers", full of "the true spirit of orthodox Whiggism", and, in at least one case, "not even consistent with himself much less with historical truth". In Gardiner "much rancour may be combined with an almost quaker-like profession of what is called historical impartiality", and with an "overmastering desire to belittle Hyde's part in the history of his time", in accordance with the "apparent but not very real impartiality of tone" of his school. Apart from his references to the works of Lister and Gardiner the author's numerous foot-notes relate almost entirely to Clarendon and the better known body of published original material. He has, without doubt, read widely in the literature of the period and has used much of it which his references do not indicate. But of later scholarship's contribution to the subject there is not much trace. Nowhere, perhaps, in recent historical literature can one find a more notable example of his peculiar type of historical writing than in his long foot-note on the Grand Remonstrance, that "long rigmorole", "sorry production", "farrago of narrative, of ejaculatory lamentations, of bitter invective, and of pietistic aspirations", where his shrewd guess as to its composition is apparently free from any suspicion of an increase of knowledge concerning it since Rushworth's time. It would far exceed the limits of any reasonable review to discuss the various questions raised by almost every chapter of the book, nor is it necessary to do so, to appraise its value. It would be wearisome to enumerate the variety of phrases evolved to describe the wickedness of Vane, to say nothing of Clarendon's other numerous opponents. It would scarcely be possible to discuss the many points where Hyde is defended from possible criticism by the (favorite word of the author) loyalty of Craik—his insinuation into place and power, his abstention from a dangerous course in Strafford's case, his great care for his own safety amid war's alarms, or his mistakes after he became chief minister. Craik admits few faults or none in his hero, and he does little to clear the mystery surrounding no small number of circumstances in his career, though, beyond all other writers, he makes entirely clear from Clarendon's own words how that didactic sermonizing spirit grew so distasteful to a pleasure-loving king, whom, to his lasting honor, he never hesitated to rebuke.

This new biography tempts to endless controversy on almost every page, but, given the spirit and method of the author, there is perhaps nothing more to be said. We still need, not a eulogistic rewriting of Hyde's own *apologia pro vita sua*—that splendid classic speaks for itself

—but a biography based on modern scholarship and impartial judgment. For, whatever Clarendon's weaknesses, they were not so great as to deserve unqualified defense; whatever his strength it was not so small as to require unlimited praise.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Henry Fox, First Lord Holland: a Study of the Career of an Eighteenth Century Politician. By THAD W. RIKER, M.A., B.Litt. Oxon. In two volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. Pp. 438; 419.)

THIS book, by a former Rhodes Scholar, inevitably challenges comparison with two other recent eighteenth-century biographies, Dr. von Ruville's *Chatham*, and Lord Rosebery's *Chatham*. Mr. Riker's book has the same merits and the same defects as that of Dr. von Ruville; both authors show familiarity with modern methods of research, both can track down an undated letter, or give a lucid statement of a complex situation. But too often the life expires under the dissection. Both have toiled more in dusty repositories than has Lord Rosebery, but neither has the knowledge of English political life, or of the old Whig idea of connection as a social and political force, which Lord Rosebery has as his birthright.

Mr. Riker shows commendable erudition, but little power of historical interpretation. From the chief sources, published and unpublished, he has given us a minute and externally correct account of a tangled period; he has toiled through the Newcastle and the Hardwicke correspondence, and not a few other manuscript collections in the British Museum, and in the Public Record Office; but his style is unformed, and his comments on men and things commonplace and uninteresting; his book is a clear and careful chronological statement; to the higher qualities of historical interpretation it makes little if any claim.

Though called a life of Henry Fox, Mr. Riker's book treats fully only of the period from 1754 to 1763, and especially of that from 1754 to 1757, the three years of struggle following the death of Pelham, which decided that Pitt and not Fox was to control the destinies of England. Of Fox's rise to influence he says little, and still less of his later years of retirement. Even in the period which he treats in detail, he devotes himself almost wholly to Fox as a party manager. Though as secretary at war Fox seems to have been an energetic and efficient administrator, of this side of his life Mr. Riker gives us almost nothing, perhaps wisely preferring to wait for access to the papers at Holland House. Even of the subject thus limited, Mr. Riker's treatment is external. We are given a minute and accurate account of all the ministerial changes which were made, projected, or suspected; but though we are often told that Fox was a supreme party manager, we get few glimpses into his secret. His greatest achievement was the passing through Parliament by an enor-

mous majority of the preliminaries of the peace of Paris: Mr. Riker adds little to our knowledge of how it was done; he tells us that Fox employed barefaced corruption, and keen knowledge of the baser sides of human nature; he does not reveal his methods of using his knowledge and his coin.

Mr. Riker is especially weak in his treatment of Fox's great rival, Pitt, a weakness perhaps due to the over-devotion to the Newcastle Papers. No student of Pitt's letters, in that correspondence can fail to recognize that there was in him a vein of pompous dissimulation, ill according with his high professions of disinterestedness. This touch of cant sickens Mr. Riker, as at the time it did Burke; as a result we hear altogether too much of Pitt the intriguer, and not nearly enough of the most Olympian figure in English history. If we had Mr. Riker's book alone to depend on we should be at a loss to know why in 1756-1757 the whole nation cried out for Pitt, and would have none of Fox. It is difficult to understand what Mr. Riker means by saying, "In consistency of principles and in debating powers, Fox was far the superior of Pitt" (II. 148). It is abundantly clear from Mr. Riker's own narrative that Henry Fox never in his life had a political principle, unless we can dignify with that name the determination to die wealthy and a peer. In a corrupt age he was corrupt and faithless; with all his personal charm of manner he died with hardly a friend; even the robust and not over-squeamish Rigby could not stand him (II. 289). The "honesty" on which he plumed himself was at best the honesty of Dugald Dalgetty, a desire to give efficient service to his temporary owner. He carried through Parliament the peace of Paris, and he did it well; had the ministry wished to defeat the peace, and needed Fox, he would have done their bidding with the same efficiency for the same pay.

On the whole, however, Mr. Riker is commendably free from the biographer's vice of hero-worship. Later, in a comparison of the two rivals, he hits the nail on the head when he says: "At least we can say that Pitt honoured the English people when he thought of them as a nation; while Fox on the other hand, who despised the populace as rabble, and did not look beyond the circumference of his little social and political world, caught never the slightest gleam of patriotism" (II. 208). Mr. Riker's general view of Fox is eminently fair, and if it does not change the established opinion, it at least confirms it. It is not without value that a careful and meticulous study of Fox confirms the view that he was "simply emblematic of a system of politics in vogue during the Eighteenth Century" (II. 338); a good manager of the House of Commons, fearless and logical, but utterly without constructive statesmanship.

W. L. GRANT.

Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series. Volume V., A.D. 1766-1783. Edited through the direction of the Lord President of the Council by JAMES MUNRO, M.A., Beit Lecturer in Colonial History in the University of Oxford, under the general supervision of Sir ALMERIC W. FITZROY, K.C.V.O., Clerk of the Privy Council. (London: Wyman and Sons. 1912. Pp. xli, 830.)

WITH the issue of the fifth volume of the *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, the work as originally planned is completed, and there lies spread before us in compact, orderly, and convenient form a series of invaluable official records, covering the years from 1613 to 1783, that have hitherto been locked up in some ninety-nine manuscript volumes, not inaccessible indeed, but remotely situated as far as American students were concerned. Within the short period of less than four years, this material, indispensable for a proper study of colonial history, has been brought to our shelves and rendered as available as are the printed records of our own colonies. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this fact, for although the actual contribution of new information is not great, the contribution of a new point of view and the vitalizing of an historical factor of first rank, the influence of which has never before been appreciated, are of the highest significance.

In the past students have groped in the dark as far as the fundamental principles of British policy are concerned. It is easy to read the leading mercantilist pamphlets, to study the correspondence, as far as obtainable, of the Secretary of State, to search the preambles of the acts of Parliament, and to follow the debates in Parliament, often very meagre, in order to gather from these sources what the British government was really trying to do. But I doubt if in this way one will ever learn the true inwardness of the British position. The rules and precedents, which constituted the traditions of the government and were adhered to with unyielding tenacity to the end, can only be found in the representations of the Board of Trade, in the opinions of the legal advisers of the board and the crown, and in the proceedings of the Privy Council and the departments. It is true that the colonies were not following these precedents or recognizing the authority of these traditions, but the British government was following them and recognizing them as legal, and in so doing was furnishing one of the causes, at least, of the colonial revolt.

For example, by 1763, the colonial assemblies, everywhere and in practically every particular, were exercising the functions and powers of the House of Commons in England. Yet despite this fact, the Privy Council, the lawyers, and the Board of Trade, refused to alter their traditional position that the assemblies were inferior bodies, owing what privileges they possessed to the royal grace and favor, and in no way, either in power or privilege, analogous to, coequal, co-ordinate, or com-

parable with the great legislative body at home. In this respect, and in many others touching colonial laws, finance, appointments, and manufactures, the home authorities were deliberately setting their faces against accomplished facts and were ignoring the actual situation in America. By means of new instructions to the governors and a more rigid application of the royal right of disallowance, they continued to apply rules of control that had practically become obsolete and had long since been repudiated by the colonists themselves. And the important fact is that as the *de facto* independence of the colonies increased, the council, in all that concerned the royal prerogative, was demanding the enforcement of the full letter of the law.

The volume shows also that the Board of Trade maintained its activity as an advisory body to the end, that is, during a period that has commonly been considered one of decline in its functions. Its reports and representations from 1765 to 1782 are long and frequent. The committee of the whole council was likewise an efficient body. I am impressed with the number of hearings to which it gave attention, the details of which are here given (pp. 203-210, 221-222, 248-265, 386-388, 410-415). One of these hearings recalls the famous appearance of Franklin before the committee of Parliament; another supplements admirably the recently published letters of Dennys de Berdt. We see the claims of Jeronimy Clifford still agitated by his executors nearly a century after they originated, thus constituting one of the longest cases on record (§ 15). We see also the final issue of the case of Connecticut *v.* the Mohegan Indians, hitherto unknown, when the council dismissed in 1773 the last appeal of the Indians made in 1769 (§ 133).

A number of useful appendixes complete the series. They contain (1) commissions and instructions to the governors; (2) appointments to colonial councils; (3) acts confirmed or disallowed; (4) items from the Plantation Registers; (5) grants of land; and (6) a fine map of the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island). Most important of all is the complete list, given in an addendum, of the members of the council from 1613 to 1783 (not "1613-83" as the heading says). This list, filling 173 pages, will be of great convenience to those who need to refer to it for biographical information, or who wish to study the political complexion of the council at any given date.

The preface is written by Sir Almeric FitzRoy, the clerk of the council. It is not only an admirable summary of the general situation and a delightful literary essay, but it contains a number of judicious commentaries upon the leading statesmen, particularly the Duke of Grafton, whose character and ability Sir Almeric wishes to present in a more favorable light. He acknowledges that the duke "was liable to have his judgment clouded by irresolution at critical moments", but offers in extenuation Grafton's extreme youth (not thirty-one) and his belief, stated at the time, "that if his disposition for moderate counsels had been pursued by his successors 'the country would have readily settled all its

disputes with our colonies' and at the same time 'relieved America from the fetters of the old charters'". Furthermore, Grafton was defeated by only one vote in his efforts to include tea with the other articles the duties on which were repealed and, as Sir Almeric says, "Hillsborough betrayed his chief by the omission from the minute communicating the decision to the governors of the colonies of the soothing and conciliatory expressions which the defeated section of the Cabinet obtained their colleagues' consent to introduce." It is fitting that Sir Almeric should give the parting word to a work begun at his own initiation and in which his interest has been maintained to the end.

A sixth volume will follow completing the series and containing material from the uncalendared papers in the custody of the Privy Council as far as the year 1800, when that collection of papers comes to an end.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

George the Third and Charles Fox: the Concluding Part of the American Revolution. By Sir GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Bart., O.M. In two volumes. Volume I. (New York, London, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1912. Pp. xi, 311.)

THE historical work of Sir George Otto Trevelyan is most exasperating to the reviewer. One is so carried away with the mere reading of the entrancing pages that one forgets to be on the watch for all those little errors and inaccuracies of statement which are the joy of every true reviewer. Moreover, the author has dwelt with his subject so long, and thought upon it so deeply that what he has chosen to tell us has a certainty and inevitableness about it like a decree of fate. The truth in the large has been so perfectly divined that any error of detail is not of sufficient moment to notice. It is true that there is no doubt in the mind of the reader of this volume, as there has been no chance for dubiety on the part of the reader of the earlier volumes, that a Whig sympathizer has written the history, but he is a generous Whig who can speak with enthusiasm even of George III. in his better aspects as the earnest and devoted defender of his country against the attacks of France and Spain. The Tory Gibbon, too, even in the character of hireling defender of Lord North and his policies, comes in for generous praise and evident admiration. Trevelyan writes like a great man of affairs who has lived in the midst of the political events of which he discourses. He is the familiar of all his heroes and even of his scapegoats. His mind has long been made up about them, and there is no shadow of doubt to cool the warmth of his praises or of his denunciations. His descriptions of Fox send thrill after thrill even through a skeptical, cynical historical investigator who has schooled himself to be suspicious of all literary effects. So, too, is it with the passages about

Burke to the extent that one even accepts the author's assertion that "so full and cultured a mind as Burke's,—so vivid an imagination, and so intense and catholic an interest in all human affairs, past and present,—have never been placed at the service of the state by anyone except Cicero". Biography and politics are so deftly interwoven that the unity of the historical tapestry is perfect. In the drama that passes before the reader Fox and Burke are the heroes, George III., Lord North, and Lord Sandwich are the villains, but the social and economic background is never forgotten in watching the players. There is a fullness of knowledge and yet a restraint in the using of it which assures us that, though we are left in darkness as to many stupid things that happened in that age, yet the author knew about them and spared us.

In its mere rhetorical aspects the writing is a model of what historical composition should be. The balance and the sweep of the sentences seem never to be attained at the price of truth. The witty turns, the clever epigrams, which from a man of cruder literary sense would destroy our confidence in his scholarly integrity have no weakening effect on these delightful pages. Who can find fault if the solemn historical muse smiles for a moment while it relates of Fox that "even during the bustle of the American controversy he contrived to get through an enormous amount of reading in that bed which he sought unwillingly towards daybreak, and left with all but insuperable reluctance at two in the afternoon". And again, "He was not in, but above the fashion; and the world,—overstocked as it always has been, with dandies and coxcombs,—liked Charles Fox all the better for his inattention to outward appearance." At least in these pages we are never annoyed by the snore of the historical muse. Moreover, though the author is not uninitiated in rhetorical devices, these never obtrude upon our attention, so perfect is the art. The very digressions, almost as numerous as in *Tristram Shandy*, which sometimes lead us far from the theme in hand, do not displease for a new interest replaces the one we have abandoned for a time.

It is almost ungracious to criticize what has given us so much pleasure, but it must be said of this volume, as of the whole work, that in the main it is a history of England in the time of the American Revolution. Many of the most vital questions of the American history are unanswered—the liberal movement, the struggle between seaboard and back country, the rise of constitutional theories, and industrial and social movement, receive at best but a passing notice. There is a want of acquaintance with some very important monographs on the American questions and too much reliance upon Fiske and Lossing. "Edward M'Cracken" (p. 265) should be Edward McCrady. The assertion that Pitt's requisitions upon the colonies during the Seven Years' War "were met with prompt and eager obedience" meets with complete refutation in E. I. McCormac's *Colonial Opposition to Imperial Authority during the French and Indian War*.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution und der Freiheits-Kriege (1789-1815). Von ADALBERT WAHL. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below und F. Meinecke.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1912. Pp. viii, 266.)

THIS is the twelfth volume of a series which began in 1903 with the publication by Dr. Schultz of *Das häusliche Leben der Europäischen Kulturvölker*. Like the other volumes that have appeared, the present work is intended for the specialist, the student of history, rather than for the layman. This does not imply, however, that we have here a new contribution based upon research in primary sources; it is rather a new presentation of the international history of Europe for this period based upon a careful correlation of the best secondary authorities by a competent and thorough scholar. Indeed the work becomes at times too academic in this respect. There is not a moot question of importance from the origin of the revolutionary wars to the question as to who set fire to Moscow, that is not seized upon with avidity as an opportunity to pit and balance authorities against each other.

In regard to the former Dr. Wahl agrees with von Sybel in attributing the war entirely to the Girondists. Ranke and those who follow him are wrong, he contends, when they ascribe it to the antagonism between the principles of the Revolution and Old Europe. Glagau's recent efforts to ascribe a large share of the cause to Vienna he regards as quite unsuccessful, while the influence of the king and queen seems to him negligible, "können gar nicht niedrig genug eingeschätzt werden" (pp. 31-33).

To Napoleon Dr. Wahl is unwilling to concede quite so large a space in his canvas as is usually done. He declines to see in him the "Eroberer- und Heldennatur", the superman, recently presented again to English readers in Mr. Hardy's *Dynasts*. Nor does he agree with the conception represented by Professor Lenz (*cf.* Max Lenz, *Napoleon*, Bielefeld, 1905), which looks upon Napoleon as the "child of fate", the heir of the Revolution who could not have acted otherwise than he did. Both conceptions, Dr. Wahl considers misleading. He finds the central theme, the dominating factor of the titanic struggle of these years, in the national and race psychology. "Der Hauptinhalt der Staatengeschichte der Jahre von 1792 bis 1815 ist eine gewaltige Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem revolutionären Frankreich und den wichtigsten Staaten des übrigen Europa" (p. 34). Herein too can be seen the explanation of the fact that the title makes no mention of Napoleon. The climax of Napoleon's power the author places in 1807 after Tilsit rather than three or four years later as is usually done. This enables him to introduce earlier and with greater emphasis the uprising of the nations, which he regards as the really dynamic force of the age.

The index is exiguous, giving only names of men and places. On the other hand the general bibliography as well as the special bibliographies for each division are up to date and selected with discrimination and judgment. A notable exception occurs in the omission of Mahan's works. Indeed a little familiarity with Mahan would have been a safeguard against speaking of the United States as an ally of Napoleon—"mit Napoleon im Bunde" (p. 201). It would also have secured more adequate treatment of the Baltic trade and its part in disrupting the system of Napoleon, thereby leading to the final catastrophe of which Wahl himself says, "Der Untergang der Grossen Armee in Russland ist das für die politischen Verhältnisse des Kontinents entscheidendste Ereignis des ganzen Zeitalters" (p. 220). But in spite of certain objections, which a volume raising so many polemical questions is sure to occasion, the fact remains that the work has exceptional merit, adequately filling the place for which it was intended.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

A History of the Peninsular War. By CHARLES OMAN, M.A., Hon. LL.D. Volume IV. December, 1810–December, 1811. *Masséna's Retreat; Fuentes de Oñoro; Albuera; Tarragona.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. Pp. xiv, 664.)

THE painstaking scholarship and the keenness of critical ability displayed in the successive volumes of Professor Oman's masterpiece assure it a place among the most notable contributions to the history of the Napoleonic era. The reader may continue to turn to the more glowing pages of Napier, but the student will consult Oman for the most scrupulously accurate account based upon the most complete researches. The literature and the archives of England, France, Spain, and Portugal have been worked through, valuable manuscripts in family archives have been ferreted out, such as the papers of D'Urban, Beresford's chief-of-staff, and of Scovell, Wellington's cipher-secretary; and nearly every important scene of action has been travelled over. With convincing certainty, Napier is corrected, the memoirs of Thiébault and Marbot are proved glowingly inaccurate, Masséna's chief-of-staff, Fririon, and his biographer, Koch, are repeatedly brought to book; and the despatches of the emperor himself are checked by the cold facts. Sixteen excellent maps and plans, abundant foot-notes, twenty-four appendixes of minutely accurate data of numbers engaged and lost, a good index, and marvelously careful proof-reading, testify to the indefatigable thoroughness of research and lavish care in the book-making by both author and publisher.

Abundant attention is given to the captures of Tortosa and Tarragona by Suchet, of Figueras by Macdonald, to the English attempt to break up Victor's siege of Cadiz by the battle of Barrosa, and to the multitude of minor operations, of which the most brilliant was Hill's

destruction of Girard's division at Arroyo dos Molinos. The main interest, however, is rightly centred on Wellington's recovery of Portugal, Masséna's retreat from Santarem to Salamanca, his attempt to redeem himself at Fuentes de Oñoro, and his supersession by Marmont. the campaigns of Soult in Estremadura with the three sieges of Badajoz and the dearly won victory of Beresford at Albuera, and the deadlocks near Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo during the latter half of the year mark the transfer of the offensive from the French to the English which was signalized by Wellington's capture of Ciudad Rodrigo which opened his victorious campaign of 1812.

In the year 1811 the Napoleonic power was apparently at dead centre. It is the least eventful year of the epoch, for Napoleon at forty-two, after fifteen years of ceaseless activity, seems to have given himself a sabbatical year. The empire was at its widest extent; the Napoleonic system, now in full working order in both army and civil service, was left to the charge of subordinates; England alone, as in 1798, in 1801, and in 1808, stubbornly contested its supremacy; the birth of the King of Rome on March 20 was the moment of supreme ecstasy. Ten days later the knell had sounded, for in this year England was at last able to pit its armies against those of Napoleon, and Foy had brought the news of Masséna's retreat from Santarem. The emperor's comment on the news forestalled the inevitable question: "Le Portugal est trop loin: je ne peux pas y aller; il faudrait six mois. Pendant six mois tout est suspendu: l'Europe est sans direction: les Russes peuvent se déclarer, les Anglais débarquer au nord."

The political situation was the key to the war, and this Professor Oman has admirably elucidated in the chapter on King Joseph and his Troubles. As the Russian campaign and the conspiracy of General Malet proved in the next year, the burden of empire required the emperor at the capital. Without the railroad he could not go to Portugal, and without the telegraph he could not properly direct operations there. His orders were six weeks out of date when they reached Marmont or Soult. Joseph could not be given independent responsibility, and no marshal was competent for the supreme command. Six independent, jealous, commanders directed the operations of the 350,000 troops in the Peninsula. Napoleon, says Oman, "never thoroughly comprehended the way in which the movements of his armies were delayed by the fact that they were moving in a country where every peasant was their enemy, where provisions could only be collected by armed force, and where no despatch would reach its destination unless it were guarded by an escort of from 50 to 250 men. . . . Wellington . . . had written as early as 1809 that the enemy could not turn him out of the Peninsula with anything less than 100,000 men, and that he could make such arrangements that an army of that number could not live in the country." The retreat of Masséna, and the failure of the attempted combinations of Soult and Marmont before Badajoz, and of

Marmont and Dorsenne before Ciudad Rodrigo proved Wellington's point.

When the campaign of 1812 opened, Wellington for the first time had the whip-hand, with results no less ruinous for Napoleon than the Russian blunder. Professor Oman's fifth volume covering the climax of the war will be awaited with impatient interest.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George the Third. By the Right Honorable Sir THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, K.C.B., D.C.L., edited and continued to 1911 by FRANCIS HOLLAND. In three volumes. (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 468; xiii, 441; xvii, 398.)

IN the title above, volumes I. and II. comprise what has been known for many years as May's *Constitutional History of England, 1760-1860*. The text, except for a few additional notes by the editor, is Lord Farnborough's last revision of his original work. Volume III. is the "continuation" by Holland, and covers the period, 1860-1911.

The appearance of a work in this form raises a question in the ethics of continuations. It will be admitted that a monastic chronicle, an annual register, or a series of law reports are capable of being continued. Can the same process be applied to an author? Now to students of historical literature, May's *Constitutional History* is not a colorless, impersonal compilation, but the work of a distinctive author; and even though its substantive value should depreciate, it will remain, probably for some generations, a pleasing monument of early-Victorian Whiggery. As such, it deserved to be left by itself. However justifiable the motives of the publishers, or of Mr. Holland, may be in presuming to put out a continuation, the result cannot be deprecated too strongly as a display of literary violence from which Lord Farnborough might have been spared. Far better would it be for Mr. Holland to have written independently, and to have offered us for the period a separate work of his own, free from the ambiguous association of a great name.

The reasons for urging a criticism on these grounds are more than formal: they are based upon the evident lack of a common purpose between Lord Farnborough and his "continuator". Lord Farnborough, eminently judicial and moderate, wrote with great care for scholars and students: Mr. Holland, with the clever touch of a journalist, almost disdaining foot-notes and citations, writes for the general reader. He thus places himself not only in striking contrast to his predecessor, but also beyond the range of serious critics.

This aside, however, his work has certain very conspicuous merits. It is not only well, but even brilliantly written: some of the single par-

agraphs devoted to subjective descriptions of recent statesmen are among the best of the kind to be found anywhere. The prevailing attitude is that of a Free-Trade Liberal Imperialist, looking somewhat askance at Gladstone, and practically ignoring Lloyd George. A rather undue amount of space is allotted to the Parliament Act of 1911; which leads us to conclude that the book was prompted by the excitement of that constitutional dispute. Certain omissions are noticeable: for instance, the lack of any adequate discussion of the recent socialist movement among the ranks of unskilled labor—or of any discussion of tendencies in legislation dealing with social reform, such as the widening scope of the London Education Authority. In a journalist, it is perhaps a pardonable error to suggest (p. 213) that the tradition of the Whigs has been unfriendly to the Church: in reality, the reverse is the case; it is the tradition of the Church that has been unfriendly to the Whigs. For the very reason that it was written for the general reader, volume III. could be used as an introduction to the study of recent English history; and in this respect, as well as for purposes of review, it ought to be very valuable.

C. E. FRYER.

Männer und Zeiten: Aufsätze und Reden zur neueren Geschichte.

Von ERICH MARCKS. Bände I. und II. (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1911. Pp. ix, 340; 314.)

THOSE who still talk of German historical writing in the vocabulary of Carlyle as the work of Professor Dry-as-dust, piling fact on fact without any attention to their significance, are sadly out of touch with contemporary historical work in Germany. The present-day German historian writes general history, organizes co-operative productions both narrative and bibliographical, contributes diluted history for the masses to illustrated periodicals, furnishes historical reasons for larger fleets and more colonies, and explains to statesmen and to his countrymen the real reasons for the present renaissance of eighteenth-century diplomacy. He is even beginning to furnish his books with indexes and to insist that the library where he works should have card catalogues. Not the least interesting indication of the changing character of German historical writing is the freedom and frequency with which historical essays and addresses are made into volumes and evidently find a publisher and a public ready to receive them.

Professors Lenz, Hintze, Heigel (in six volumes), Delbrück, and now Professor Marcks, are the latest entries under "Gesammelte Abhandlungen" in Dahlmann-Waitz and every entry under this caption dates since 1870. If the events of that year taught the French the value of German *Gründlichkeit*, the Germans are no less indebted to their opponents for lessons in *haute vulgarisation*.

The stout volumes of Professor Marcks are the occasional products of the last twenty-five years, republished in unchanged form—that it

would have destroyed something of their historical value to have modified them, is the reason assigned. Though exceedingly miscellaneous in character, including book reviews, a traveller's letter after a visit to La Rochelle, and the diary of a visit to Bismarck in his last years, this material and the distinctly historical essays, delivered as lectures, are evidently the by-products of two lines of historical study pursued by Professor Marcks. As a young man he began an elaborate biography of Coligny, only one volume of which appeared. With this work which gave him an insight into the latter half of the sixteenth century may be associated the addresses on Philip II. of Spain, Gaspard de Coligny, Coligny and the murder of Francis de Guise, the age of the Religious Wars, etc. Of these the best is the inaugural lecture, as professor of history at Heidelberg, on Philip II. It contains nothing new to those who are familiar with the work of Martin A. S. Hume but it is a masterly sketch of a personality and the age and nation of which Philip was the hero. The essay on Coligny and the murder of Guise is a clear and convincing refutation of the view presented by Kervyn de Lettenhove while it makes evident how much Coligny was part of his age when he condoned the deed after it was done.

The second volume centres around the subject of Marck's study in his maturer years, the biographies of Bismarck and William I. Four of the studies have to do directly with Bismarck. The first, on Bismarck and Goethe, is the inevitable sort of thing when a student of Bismarck is called to address a *Goethe-Gesellschaft*—two men, two ages, little in common except aristocratic feeling and the German language. The others, written about the time of Bismarck's death, are so surcharged with feeling that one can only attribute value to them as historical documents and as contrasts to the objectivity and power of Marcks's later studies of the same subject. The best study in this volume is the sketch of Albrecht von Roon, the noblest Prussian of them all, embodying the best of the old Prussia and unable, even unwilling, to leave it for the greater future promised her as part of the new empire.

The interest and the chief value of these two volumes is the exhibition of Professor Marcks's pre-eminent skill in sketching a great figure in all its individuality and yet as the product and the epitome of the age or the movement with which the subject is associated. These are not essays on the method or philosophy of history but substantial demonstrations. One lecture is such as he delivered in a course, one is his first lecture as a *privat-docent*, and one his professional inaugural. They give a good view of a high type of German historian at his trade, not of controversialist, but of teacher and investigator. They are typical of Professor Marcks and explain why no other living German historian, with the possible exception of Professor Schmoller, is so universally respected by his colleagues, to whatever "school" of history they may belong.

Besides the material to which attention has been called there are

neurological sketches of Dahlmann, Sybel, Treitschke, and Mommsen, so written as to be contributions to the historiography of the nineteenth century. Four essays have to do with European politics. They smack strongly of the agitation for a larger navy, while throwing light in a friendly way on the relations with England, the rise of imperialism, and the Austro-German alliance. They will be of more value to the historian of a later day than they are to one of the present. There is, of course, the almost inevitable essay on "1848", somewhat antiquated in its facts but sensible in its interpretation.

It is a considerable service to have the best of these fugitive essays put in convenient form but a more rigid standard in selection would not have detracted from the value of the volumes.

GUY STANTON FORD.

Memoirs and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Morier, G.C.B., from 1826 to 1876. In two volumes. By his daughter, Mrs. ROSSLYN WEMYSS. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1911. Pp. xi, 418; vii, 418.)

BORN in 1826 and graduated at Oxford in 1849, Robert Morier began his diplomatic career in 1853 as unpaid attaché to the British Embassy at Vienna. In 1859 he was transferred to Berlin, and during the next seventeen years he held minor posts at various German capitals. The slowness of his promotion would cause surprise, did we not know that in the British diplomatic service the high places went then either to great nobles or to special favorites of the crown or the cabinet. Morier was neither, although the queen and Lord John Russell liked him and he had many warm friends among the aristocracy. But he lacked the art of self-seeking which so often outstrips mere merit in the race for honors; and so it happened that his very remarkable talents and unmatched special knowledge had to wait long for official recognition.

It is his familiarity with German politics, including Austrian, for the quarter of a century preceding 1876, that gives his *Memoirs* their almost first-rate historical importance. At a time when the English despised the Germans and were proud of knowing nothing about them, Morier was studying them most sympathetically and making acquaintances and friendships among them. He came thus to know not only the history of the Old Germany, but the men who were working in different ways to create the New Germany.

His *Memoirs* supply material of two kinds which the student of the founding of the German Empire will find valuable. First, there are monographs or Foreign Office despatches in which Morier describes for the benefit of his superiors the points involved in some of the great questions that arose during the late fifties and the sixties. Next, there are his private letters, containing off-hand criticism of men and events at the time of writing. He was among the earliest to recognize the genius

of Bismarck, "one of the most sinister characters in history", and to deplore, as Bismarck advanced from victory to victory, that the United Germany "worthy of the soul of Goethe, Schiller, and Kant", which the Liberals had dreamed of, was, instead, a wonderful military machine engineered by Authority and not by Liberty.

Morier's many references to Bismarck are of capital importance. It is a proof of his own worth that, although officially he was only a diplomatic attaché, the inexorable Prussian took notice of him and worked to get rid of him. This was not only because Morier was a Liberal, but because he was a friend of Crown Prince Frederick and Princess Victoria, whom Bismarck suspected of attempting to Anglicize Prussia. When we remember that only a few years before the English had worked themselves into a frenzy over Prince Albert's alleged attempts to Germanize England we shall see the humor of the situation.

Morier's later service was at Munich, where he passed the years 1872-1876. The chapters bearing on the war of 1870, the German Empire, the beginnings of the *Kulturkampf*, and Bismarck's frustrated war scare of 1875 abound in interesting statements and comments, made by an expert behind the scenes.

Mrs. Wemyss has selected from her father's correspondence chiefly the material that bears on his political career. But there are enough extracts of a more personal nature to reveal to us the man himself. He had not only a strong and logical intellect but also affectionateness and charm that endeared him to some of the most eminent men of his time. He possessed courage to the verge of indiscretion, as when in his pamphlet on the Danish Question he satirized his English fellow-countrymen for their habit of not condescending to know what foreign nations thought or did. He was magnanimous, because, as he told Layard, he allowed himself to be boycotted by the Foreign Office for eight years on account of this same pamphlet which he wrote at Lord Russell's suggestion. Before it was printed, however, Russell reversed his policy, and the Foreign Office treated Morier as guilty of treachery to his chief. Why Russell permitted this injustice to continue, we are not informed. We hope that Mrs. Wemyss will give, in a sequel, the story of her father's later career, at Lisbon and St. Petersburg.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The American People: a Study in National Psychology. By A. MAURICE LOW, M.A. Volume II. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1911. Pp. vi, 608.)

THE second volume of Mr. Low's work, like its predecessor, is composed of a collection of chapters, each one an independent essay upon the historical origin of some feature of American life or thought. Its

foundation, apart from the author's personal observation, is a bibliography in which are gathered works of all descriptions from text-books to historical monographs and miscellaneous writings on science. As an observer of contemporary American social life Mr. Low shows a keenness and shrewdness which render his comments interesting and sometimes suggestive. He is particularly concerned with the social and psychological effects of immigration, and in several chapters he argues with great vigor to maintain the thesis that it is an unmixed blessing to both the native-born and the immigrant. Whether his treatment of this subject is sound is a matter for the statistician and the anthropologist to consider rather than the historical critic. At all events it seems to coincide with the beliefs of a class of writers with which Mr. Low seems entirely unacquainted, namely, the present-day social workers. But whenever the author turns from existing conditions to the quest of historical origins he enters a field where no amount of keenness in observation can remedy the lack of broad historical preparation. To account for existing conditions Mr. Low restates history to suit himself, omitting whatever does not interest him, and dwelling with continual reiteration upon a few formulae. There is not an atom of real historical criticism, nor of the weighing of authorities or of evidence, in the whole volume. The sole method is to "make points" by the use of telling epithets and striking generalizations, regardless of the precise historical basis. To subject such a form of writing to criticism is a waste of time, for Mr. Low's conclusions, whether true or false, are so patently founded on scanty historical knowledge as to be of little value. It would be easy to fill pages with examples of sweeping generalizations which demand great modification to render them other than absurd. He says of the equal representation of the colonies in the Union of 1643 without regard to the size or population, "This is peculiarly an American political principle. It was as foreign to English ideas then as now." Any one who realized how the House of Commons was composed until the last century could never make so fictitious a claim. Again, "After the Revolution the South had a greater attachment for England than it had for the North or than the North had for the mother-country." It would be difficult to frame a more thoroughly incorrect statement. Again we are told that after the Civil War "the North dealt with the South in a broad spirit of generosity and friendship; the South, a conquered people, at the mercy of their conquerors, suffered no humiliation". These examples are not exceptional they are typical. A further evidence of the inadequacy of Mr. Low's treatment of historical origins is his failure to comprehend the meaning of the westward movement and its bearing on American life and his failure to allude to the development of American governmental methods or American political parties as an influence in developing national psychology, while harping continually on "the Puritan". In fact the book in style and manner reminds the reader irresistibly of the current newspaper literature. It is all smart, clatter-

ing, assertive, consciously original in thought, desirous always to be dethroning some idol, even if it be necessary to erect one of straw for the purpose. To be considered a serious analysis of American history it has not the slightest claim.

Korte Historiael ende Journaels Aenteyckeninge van verscheyden Voyagiens in de vier Deelen des Wereldts-Ronde, als Europa, Africa, Asia, ende Amerika gedaen. Door D. DAVID PIETERSZ DE VRIES, Artillerij-Meester van de Ed: M: Heeren Gecommitteerde Raden van Staten van West-Vrieslandt ende 't Noorder-Quartier. Uitgegeven door Dr. H. T. COLENBRANDER. ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff. 1911. Pp. xliv, 297.)

THIS volume, which is the third in the series of Dutch voyages published by the Linschoten Society, contains a reprint of the rare journal of David Pietersz de Vries, which has the distinction of being the only extensive narrative of personal experiences in New Netherland from the hand of a man who at different times had a prominent share in the colony's affairs. The value of this journal as an historical source has been duly appreciated by American historians; Brodhead and other writers of New York history have made extensive use of it and translations of the parts that are of special interest to the American student have been made available in the *Collections of the New York Historical Society* for 1841 and 1853 and again, in revised form, in J. Franklin Jameson's *Narratives of New Netherland*. The present volume for the first time makes readily accessible the original text, not only of the author's three voyages to America, which took place between 1632 and 1644, but of the accounts of four earlier voyages undertaken between 1618 and 1630 to the Mediterranean, Newfoundland, La Rochelle, and the East Indies. Though the accounts of these four voyages have little independent historical value, they are of interest because they contain practically all that is known of de Vries's early life and help to put us on our guard against his frequent inaccuracies of statement and his possible bias of judgment as a man who at an early stage in his career suffered financial loss at the hands of the West India Company. In an admirable introduction Dr. Colenbrander furnishes an interesting comment on the essential features of the successive voyages and dwells at length on the dispute between de Vries and the West India Company concerning an intended but frustrated voyage to Canada, regarding which the editor was able to gather many important data from the archives of the West India Company and the States General. With regard to the author's life, the editor confines himself to the facts that appear in the journal itself, no attempt having apparently been made to search the notarial archives for contracts or other material that might throw light on the relations between de Vries and his partners in the various trading or colonizing expeditions. In the notes, as far as the

parts relating to New Netherland are concerned, the editor seems to have followed largely the *Narratives of New Netherland*, even to the point of copying on page 250 the typographical error of Claes Smits for Claes Swits. On pages 260 and 261 the editor points out two errors of translation; on page 223 he omits to note de Vries's mistake in referring to Andries Hudde as *Heyndrick Hudden*, who died in the East Indies. In addition to an excellent reproduction of the portrait of de Vries and reduced facsimiles of the original illustrations, the volume contains two maps, of which one is a compilation from van der Donck's map of New Netherland and the other a reproduction of a small manuscript map of Delaware Bay, entitled "De Zuid-Baai in Nieuw-Nederland", which is found in the Royal Archives at the Hague.

v. L.

The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes as described by Nicolas Perrot, French Commandant in the Northwest; Bacquerville de la Potherie, French Royal Commissioner to Canada; Morrell Marston, American Army Officer; and Thomas Forsyth, United States Agent at Fort Armstrong. Translated, edited, annotated, and with bibliography and index by EMMA HELEN BLAIR. In two volumes. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1911. Pp. 372; 412.)

GROUPED under this general title, Miss Emma Helen Blair has included material of first importance to students of the customs, character, and beliefs of the North American Indians. For nearly two centuries, the *Mémoire* of Nicolas Perrot slumbered in manuscript. It was printed in 1864 by Father Jules Tailhan, with voluminous notes and comments. Except a few extracts which Miss Blair translated for the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, comprising some sixty pages, and some fragments used by the Rev. Chrysostomus Verwyst in his *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard, and Allouez* (1886), no English translation existed of this valuable narrative by the most noted of the Canadian *coureurs de bois*. In 1716 there was published for the first time La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*. The second volume of this work, which has become rare, Miss Blair has also translated into English, crediting the surmise of many scholars that the material therein was derived from a last memoir of Nicolas Perrot. These accounts, contemporaneously written, though published with an interval of 148 years between, have been supplemented by the narrative of Major Morrell Marston, U. S. A., written in 1820 while commanding Fort Armstrong, the site of the present city of Rock Island, Illinois, and Thomas Forsyth's account of Indian manners and customs seen by him as government agent in 1827 to General William Clark, then superintendent of Indian affairs. Both narratives are printed from the original

manuscripts in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and the latter has never had prior form in print. Both relate principally to the Sauk and Fox nations, which for two centuries were vitally concerned with the events in the exploratory era and period of settlement of the Upper Mississippi Valley. By means of appendixes comprising material from various sources unrelated to these documents, and with extensive annotations provided by herself, the editor has endeavored "to bring the work down to the present day, and render it a connected and homogeneous whole".

If this purpose, difficult of achievement because of the character and sources of the materials welded together, has been realized with indifferent success, there is certainly no doubt as to the great service which has been rendered to students of American history by the publication in available form and in excellent English translation of these source materials. For a quarter of a century Perrot was thrown into constant and intimate association with the Indian tribes then inhabiting the region of the Great Lakes, and as keen observer and interested participant was enabled to record impressions and experiences illustrative of every phase of Indian life. The creation myths, superstitions, marriage and funeral customs, wars undertaken, tribal relations, religious beliefs and customs, social organization of the Indian tribes, as well as the character of the Indian men and women, are treated with a wealth of detail, and frequently with picturesque setting. In the region principally traversed by Perrot, there were no white men prior to 1634, and the Indians remained practically uninfluenced by contact with Europeans until nearly half a century later. It is interesting, therefore, to compare the descriptive narrative of Perrot with the accounts which follow, treating the same subjects as they impressed observers nearly a century and a half later.

Miss Blair, who died while this work was in course of publication, spared neither labor nor space in illuminating the original narratives with generous notes and annotations. In her editorial work as well as in the matter of the translations from the French, she profited from the valuable experience gained as chief assistant to Dr. Thwaites in the editing of the *Jesuit Relations*, which covered a parallel field thoroughly familiar to her as an investigator and student during many years of preparatory research. Of fairly equal value with the memoirs, therefore, are the valuable gleanings appended in foot-notes and appendixes, given with fullness and at the same time with scholarly discrimination.

In the appendix are included a biographical sketch of Nicolas Perrot, condensed from the notes of Father Tailhan; selections from the writings of modern ethnologists; letters from missionaries, descriptive of present-day conditions among the Sioux, Potawatomi, and Winnebago tribes; and a general list of printed books and manuscript sources serving as a bibliography of the subject. An excellent index of the entire work concludes the final volume.

American Colonial Government, 1696-1765. A Study of the British Board of Trade in its relation to the American Colonies, Political, Industrial, Administrative. By OLIVER MORTON DICKERSON, Ph.D., Professor of History, Western Illinois State Normal School. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1912. Pp. 390.)

WHEN we consider that no scholar would think of writing on French or Spanish colonial history without thoroughly familiarizing himself with the system of central organization and control in France and Spain, it is surprising that the idea of investigating the organs of British control, before dealing with our colonial history, seems never to have occurred to any of our older writers. The first published records of a British executive body have appeared only within the last four years, and the first printed work treating exclusively of a British organ is that which is the subject of this review.

The appearance of Dr. Dickerson's account of the organization, functions, and work of the Board of Trade has brought to an end a period of waiting for a work that has been conspicuously and urgently needed. As long as the career and influence of the one directing agency in England that had under its supervision affairs relating to trade and plantations remained little more than a name, American history in its earlier phases was bound to be in large part a tale of individual colonies or a topical account of unrelated activities. Colonial history thus treated lent itself readily to over-detailed descriptions and to exaggerated estimates of many features of colonial life that future historians will relegate to the background. Under the older form of treatment no proper point of view could be obtained whence colonial events could be seen as identical phenomena grouped by their connection with a common governing authority, and no adequate opportunity could be found for that comparative study of all the colonies, without which estimates and valuations can never be accurately determined. To understand at least three-quarters of the incidents and happenings of colonial history demands that we view them from the standpoint of Great Britain; the remaining quarter is open to interpretation in the light of the rise of an American republic and nation. Needless to say, the ratio has been more than reversed in the past.

Dr. Dickerson has written a history of the Board of Trade from its establishment in 1696 to the year 1765, a date, it may be observed, which has no special significance as far as the history of the board is concerned. He has presented his subject in all its aspects, dealing with the organization and personnel of the board, its relation to other departments of administration, the difficulties it encountered in administering colonial affairs, the features of its imperialistic policy, its treatment of colonial legislation, and its policy toward boundaries, trade, defense, and Indian affairs. His range is wide and his survey is practically complete, as far

as the distribution of subordinate subjects is concerned. He has omitted nothing of prime importance, though occasionally his allotments of space are open to criticism. The relations of the board with other departments might have been presented at much greater length, while his discussion of the Privy Council committees, the results of which were anticipated quite independently two years ago, might have been reduced to a paragraph.

The writer has done his work exceedingly well. He has searched patiently the Board of Trade papers and entry books, the register of the Privy Council, and the Newcastle Papers in the British Museum. He has also made effective use of the printed material on this side of the water. His attitude is that of the careful and cautious scholar, his judgment on men and affairs is sound, and his insight into the nature and tendencies of colonial control in England is in the main clear and true. His description of the Board of Trade, taken in conjunction with Miss Clarke's recent essay on "The Board of Trade at Work" (*AM. HIST. REV.*, XVII. 17), throws light into places hitherto dark, and gives life and reality to an institution that has never had in the past much meaning to students of our history. He makes it abundantly clear that the board had a definite policy and one that might have been effective had it been sustained in high quarters. Even in his incomplete statement of the relation of the board to the other departments, he is able to indicate many defects of co-operation and mutual support. The failure of Parliament, the executive and ministerial authorities, and the minor departments and boards, to act in unison is one of the most striking features of British administration at this time.

I think that Dr. Dickerson has misunderstood and therefore exaggerated the board's "subordination" to Newcastle, and has construed the periods of the board's efficiency in terms rather of authority than of mere activity. Except in the matters of appointment and of correspondence, both of which were within the range of his regular business, Newcastle's interference, though annoying, curtailed but little the legal functions of the board. I cannot find that Newcastle ever drafted a governor's instructions. The board could protest vigorously against his attempt to control appointments, and the Privy Council could order the board peremptorily to communicate directly with itself, which was not only the "common practice" (p. 109), but the only proper practice. The board, not a division of the secretary's department (p. 107), was never a committee of the council (p. 81), even when first organized, nor was it ever invited to attend cabinet meetings (p. 111), for the committee of the whole council was never the "cabinet council" (p. 85). The board made many reports that were not specifically called for (p. 47), and certainly was not accustomed to send the names of all colonial councillors to the Bishop of London for his approval (p. 124). In a number of minor particulars Dr. Dickerson has made exaggerated or mistaken statements, as in saying that many colonial governors "had no intention of doing

anything more strenuous than drawing their salaries", that there was no packet service till 1755, that Rhode Island ever sent over her laws for inspection, that governors' vice-admiralty commissions came directly from the Admiralty, or that conflict between a colonial law and the law of England was considered sufficient ground for repeal. But most of these slips must be passed by, as they count for little against the genuine merits of the work.

The most serious blunder lies in the choice of a title. The work has nothing to do with "American Colonial Government". The contents are accurately expressed only by the subtitle. It is a pity that the author has not carried his subject to 1782, for he has omitted an extremely interesting and important period in the history of the board.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The First American Civil War: First Period, 1775-1778, with chapters on the Continental or Revolutionary Army and on the Forces of the Crown. By HENRY BELCHER, Rector of S. Michael-in-Lewes, Sussex. In two volumes. (London and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. Pp. xxiv, 350; viii, 364.)

THIS work is plainly written as an antidote to Trevelyan and other "Whig disciples of Clio", to use Mr. Belcher's own phrase. It seeks "to probe the weakness and the futilities of the Bancroft school of history". But why this second operation after the one so skillfully performed by Sydney George Fisher? It suggests incompetent diagnosis. We are only moved to mirth like that of the Swedish hero of a well-known modern fable. The whole work is argumentative in character and not historical either in spirit or construction. The author has not searched for the truth so much as for facts with which to confound the Whigs. Truth is desirable as an ornament, but sarcasm is indispensable. American ancestors, he declares, figure in American histories "as clad in shining garments and with features not merely deftly coloured, but enamelled with chipless enamel". Yet when he wishes to establish unpleasant facts about America's past, his particular joy is to convict the Americans out of their own mouths by quoting Roosevelt, Lodge, "Professor Sloane, of Princeton", and Sydney George Fisher, whose book is a perfect gold-mine for this seeker after Yankee defects. Mr. Belcher has a fine nose for the carrion of Whig outrages, and his researches in this direction are remarkably complete if not critical. His use of history for argumentative purposes leads to digressions worse than those of *Tristram Shandy*. Although the second volume brings the history down only to the close of Burgoyne's campaign, yet the treaty of peace appears on page 23 of the first volume. Up and down American history he rages: from Pocahontas to Roosevelt, seeking facts to support his adverse opinions. After the siege of Boston, he brings the scene of the war to New York by going back to the Stamp Act, and coming on for a time,

he again harks back to Captain Kidd to whose example he attributes the character of the waterside population in New York during the Revolution. Soon the demands of his argument bring him up to present-day New York and its large Jewish population. Then he hastens back to Hendrick Hudson, while he traces the causes of New York's peculiar attitude toward the Revolution. A diagram tracery of his advance and retreat on the field of history would resemble the diagram of a hard-fought foot-ball game. He rakes New England's history from Salem Witchcraft to the destruction of Hutchinson's mansion in order to convict its worthy Puritans of intolerance, riotous conduct, and hypocrisy. Grim pleasure is taken in the assertions that it was death to say mass in New England, that Indians were burned alive for heresy, that Faneuil Hall was built by a slave-trader, that the Mayflower began as a whaler, then bore the Pilgrims to America, and ended as a slaver. He twits Massachusetts with slavery, and particularly loves to rail at John and Samuel Adams and Benjamin Franklin. He never fails while "beating the bones of the buried" to take a fling at Cromwell. The "lurid rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence" does not, of course, escape his sneer, nor does the "fuss" over the Boston Massacre. The Spanish Fury, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Sicilian Vespers have not altogether "loosened so many capable tongues". This is but one of the many cases where Mr. Belcher's exaggeration becomes merely amusing, for while there is much sarcasm and some wit, there is no sense of humor. Some sharp criticisms are all too true but there is no sympathetic understanding of the frontier conditions which account for many of the worst evils. The author expects the conduct of a Chesterfield from the rude dweller on the margin of America's forests. Of actual error there is no great amount. The date of the Albany Congress is not 1753, Portsmouth (where the Russo-Japanese treaty was made) is not in Maine, there is obviously no proof for the positive assertion that not one-tenth of the tea imported to America paid duty, a statement by Walker, in the *Making of the Nation*, is not "irrefutable proof". Now and then, for a tricky word the author defies the matter, as when he defines the Committees of Correspondence as "secret vigilant societies of the Mafia type". Finally he misses entirely the most important phases of the American Revolution, the great revolution in political practice which went on *pari passu* with the war.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

A History of the President's Cabinet. By MARY L. HINSDALE, Ph.D.
(Ann Arbor: George Wahr. 1911. Pp. ix, 355.)

THERE was real need for a volume such as Miss Hinsdale has written. The literature of merit dealing with the President's Cabinet is notably meagre, considering the importance of the Cabinet as an institution of government. The book under review, one of the *University of Michigan*

Historical series, is a definite and valuable contribution to the general subject of American politics, and will be of service to students of both history and political science.

Although Miss Hinsdale's book is not divided in its typographical arrangement, it logically separates into three parts. The first deals with the origin of the Cabinet; the second with its development under successive Presidents; and the third with general considerations upon the principles of cabinet-making and the relations of the Cabinet to the President and the Congress. The treatment is logical and gives the reader a well-rounded view of the Cabinet, both in regard to its historical development and its present functions.

Good use is made of the material to show the unofficial, almost accidental origin of the Cabinet. Although the framers of the Constitution rejected all the plans proposed for an advisory council to the President, it was soon made plain by the methods employed by Washington that some kind of Cabinet council was sure to develop. The heads of the departments furnished the nucleus for such a council, although at first Washington was disposed to consult them individually and not as a collective body. He followed no regular practice, however, in seeking advice, frequently going outside his executive associates to a "coterie of informal advisers, made up of Madison and Jay, and sometimes Adams". At first Washington showed a marked inclination to consult with the chief justice rather than with his official legal adviser, the Attorney-General. Gradually he came to depend upon the department heads and took the "final and most essential action in the formation of the Cabinet" by instituting, without the authority of law, "a college of advisers made up of the three Department Heads and the Attorney-General". Just when Washington decided to take this step cannot be shown; the "visible separation" of the official from the unofficial advisers is definitely marked by the Cabinet meetings, which, infrequent and irregular for a time, were regularly held by the opening of 1793.

In what has been called the second part of the book, the treatment of the Cabinets of the different Presidents necessarily varies a good deal. Some administrations, some Cabinets, have been vastly more important than others. The plan of the author is to discuss the attitude of each President toward his Cabinet, the motives that controlled him in the selection of its members, the development of the Cabinet's influence, the evolution of its collective character, and, particularly, the contribution of each administration to the formation of the Cabinet as it is to-day. The personal element is given a good deal of prominence, and, as would be expected, adds to the interest of the book. Naturally some of the chapters are not much more than a register of Cabinet appointments, but that is in no way the fault of the author.

The last three chapters deal with subjects that will appeal especially to the student of political science. The titles of these chapters are: Principles of Cabinet Making, Cabinet and Congress, and Cabinet and the

President. Though they deal with familiar material, they constitute a valuable part of the book. Particularly praiseworthy is the manner in which general statements of principle are backed up by the facts of history.

On the whole this is a very satisfactory book. It gives evidence of careful, scholarly work and of conscientious study of the sources. Not the least of its merits are the extended bibliography and fifteen pages of index.

The President's Cabinet: Studies in the Origin, Formation, and Structure of an American Institution. By HENRY BARRETT LEARNED. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Henry Frowde. 1912. Pp. xii, 471.)

THAT the importance of the President's Cabinet as an institution of government is to receive wider recognition than has hitherto been the case is indicated by the publication of Mr. Learned's book, following as closely as it does the publication of Miss Hinsdale's *A History of the President's Cabinet*, also noted in this REVIEW. The student of American government, no less than the student of American history, will welcome this new volume.

The purpose of the book, as announced by the author, is "to reveal those factors in the history of the President's Cabinet which explain the origin and formation of the council as well as the establishment of the structural offices which form the institution". No attempt is made, except in an incidental way, to treat of Cabinet practices and personnel; those subjects are reserved for a later study. The present volume is limited "to setting forth the anatomy in contrast to the functions of the Cabinet" and should be judged accordingly. A careful reading forces the conclusion that the author has accomplished his purpose in a very satisfactory manner.

The book consists of thirteen chapters, in addition to the introduction and the appendix. The first chapter is devoted to the historic significance of the term "cabinet" in England, and, though interesting in itself, is not related particularly to the rest of the book and might well have been omitted. Roughly speaking, about half of the book is given to a discussion of the origin and development of the Cabinet as a collective body and to the organization of the principal executive offices in 1789. The remainder is devoted to the establishment of the other Cabinet departments. Of most interest, perhaps, are those chapters in which are discussed the foundations of the Cabinet as revealed in the administrative experience of the states from 1775 to 1789, the development of the idea of a President's council in the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention, and the actual creation of the Cabinet during Washington's first administration. The point of view of the author is that the Cabinet, as a collective body advisory to the President and composed of the heads

of the great executive departments, is not wholly due to a happy accident, but that the development which has actually occurred was anticipated by some of the more far-seeing members of the Convention of 1787. Particularly, in the author's opinion, is Charles Pinckney entitled to praise for the clear manner in which he seemed to forecast the evolution of the Cabinet. Pinckney's assertion in a pamphlet published very soon after the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention, that the President would have the right to consider the heads of the departments, "when instituted", as his council, and his application of the term "Cabinet Council" to this body, seem to justify the enthusiasm of the author when he says that this "remarkable characterization of an institution unrecognized by the Constitution . . . can hardly have been a mere suggestion or chance prophecy on Pinckney's part". The expression "Cabinet Council" was not current then and Pinckney's use of it "is probably the first that can be found". Although very early in his first administration Washington began the practice of consulting with his principal officers, the term "cabinet" was not applied to this body of advisers until 1793, and by that time the Cabinet's collective character was fairly well established. The evolution of the Cabinet, the principles which underlie it, and the attitude of the early presidents and the Congress towards it are discussed clearly and in detail. It is plain throughout that the author has been painstaking to insure the accuracy of his statements.

The organization of the three departments first established, the State, Treasury, and War departments, is necessarily treated in connection with the discussion of the Cabinet's origin and early development, but to each of the other departments a separate chapter is given. Of these later chapters the most interesting is probably that which treats of the attorney-generalship and the evolution of the Department of Justice. But of each department the author has given a very complete and illuminating account. The reader who follows the discussion with care will obtain not only an understanding of what the Cabinet is and how it came into existence, but a clearer insight into the working of America's most distinctive political institution, the presidency. The formation and development of the Cabinet is, in fact, only a part of the evolution of the presidency itself.

Evidence is abundant of the author's study of the sources. His style is clear and simple, and his material is presented in a thoroughly readable manner. From the typographical point of view the book is excellent. Its value is greatly increased by the list of authorities contained in the appendix and a carefully prepared index of more than forty pages. Though, in some respects, not entirely free from criticism, this book will be of great service to students of American history and politics.

The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery—Servitude—Freedom, 1639–1861. By EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Michigan. (Washington: The American Historical Association. 1911. Pp. xii, 314.)

THE feature that at once arrests attention in an examination of this, the latest "Justin Winsor Prize Essay" published, is that of the wealth of bibliographical citations. It is apparent that Dr. Turner has made a systematic and exhaustive use both of original material, alike in manuscript and in print, and of secondary works, but primarily of the former. He has extended his search beyond the more common collections to those hitherto unknown or unused, such as the various kinds of records in the older counties, the minutes of Friends' meetings and those of other societies, both religious and abolitionist in character, as well as exhausting the resources of several valuable private collections. The bibliographical contribution is in itself a notable one. Supplementing the two hundred and fifty pages of text and notes, is a comprehensive bibliography of manuscripts, newspapers, books, pamphlets, statutes, reports of cases, and pictures, covering forty pages. The titles of the manuscript list alone occupy over one-fourth of this space. An examination of this list conveys some idea, not only of the great variety of the sources used, but also of the immense amount of material canvassed.

In addition to zeal for research and for the careful collation of material, Dr. Turner also possesses the power of wise selection, logical organization, and lucid and interesting presentation of his data. As the result, he has been eminently successful in realizing his avowed purpose "to give a complete account of the legal, social, and economic history of the Pennsylvania negro in his rise from slavery to freedom". The work at once takes its place as the authority in this field and will not suffer by comparison with similar monographs on the history of the negro and of slavery in other states.

The subject is topically presented. The initial chapter, which gives an account of the introduction of the negro, is followed by five chapters which treat of the development of the negro through the successive stages from servitude to slavery, and from slavery to freedom, with his attendant relation to the community. A similar plan of treatment is observed in the next five chapters, which deal with the free negro in his legal, social, and political relations. The two concluding chapters relate to the subjects of abolitionism and anti-slavery, and the attitude toward fugitive slaves.

Of the several conclusions established, these are perhaps the most important. Slavery in Pennsylvania was a gradual development from servitude. The condition of the first negroes differed little from that of the indentured servants. Even when fully established, slavery was of a very mild form, both as a legal and a social system. Indeed the author remarks, "It might seem that slavery as it existed in Pennsylvania in

the eighteenth century was a good, probably for the masters, certainly for the slaves" (p. 52). This favorable status doubtless prevented its growth and perpetuity. Slaves never were very numerous in Pennsylvania. Although located further to the south, the number was several thousand less than either in New York or in New Jersey. This was due to the increasing objections to slavery on moral grounds among the Quakers and to the fact that the industrial life of the colony did not promote it. With the adoption of the gradual abolition act of 1780, the first act of its kind in America, there began a gradual upward progress toward freedom and equality, and the number of slaves diminished rapidly. In some respects, freedom did not work to the advantage of the negro, as a strong race prejudice developed among the whites against him, which manifested itself in many ways and materially retarded his social and economic improvement. While he was nominally granted by law equal civil rights, he did not always enjoy them in practice and political equality was withheld until 1870.

The prominent part played by the people of Pennsylvania in inaugurating the first abolition societies, their participation in the later movement against slavery, as well as their attitude toward the slave problems raised by the fugitive-slave question, are adequately presented. The author applies the terms "abolition" to the early period and "anti-slavery" to the later movement, contrary to the usual custom. He cites the legal names of the societies of these periods in support of the terminology he has adopted. Technically, this use is justifiable, although confusing and unusual, as the employment of the terms "abolition" and "abolitionist" in the period following 1830 was so universal as to be given general recognition.

The type and press work are a decided improvement over that of the earlier volumes of the series.

HERMAN V. AMES.

Political History of New York State during the Period of the Civil War. By SIDNEY DAVID BRUMMER, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XXXIX., no. 2.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1911. Pp. 451.)

Ohio Politics during the Civil War Period. By GEORGE H. PORTER, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XL., no. 2.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1911. Pp. 255.)

As the authors of both these books state that their subjects were suggested by Professor Dunning, it is to be presumed that they are the forerunners of a series of political histories of the several states destined to proceed from his seminary. It seems worth while, therefore, to speak of their general and common features before discussing them separately.

In workmanship both are excellent. The facts upon which they are based seem well ascertained, well grouped, and sufficient for the purposes in view. This is particularly noticeable because few, if any, historical monographs have been produced so dependent upon newspapers. Both authors acknowledge this dependence, and Mr. Brummer explains the conservative methods which he used in interpreting them (p. 6). It is gratifying to the modern historian to note how firm a structure may be raised of this material so often rejected by the builder. No less commendable is the handling, in both cases, of the intricate problem of the inclusion and exclusion of national politics. To the mind of the reviewer, exactly the proper balance has been struck between national and local interest.

The scope of both books is precisely that indicated in the titles, taken at the narrowest. That on Ohio does indeed come to 1867, while that on New York reaches only through the election of 1864. But both are strictly political, and are practically confined to politics growing out of the Civil War, almost disregarding standing local problems. There is no discussion of party machinery. Lobbies, caucuses, patronage, conventions, etc., are referred to but nowhere described. While it is realized that much may be taken for granted, and that useless duplication is one of the greatest curses of modern historical production, it still seems that a series justifying itself on the need for local study should explain local differences of political management. More emphatically it seems that such a series should attempt, in some degree at least, to root politics in the soil. It is not necessary to write a social and economic history in order to accomplish this, but to divorce politics entirely from conditions is not to write history for modern needs. Mr. Porter devotes four pages to the origins of Ohio's population, and this is the sole recognition of the foundation upon which politics are based. Moreover, the United States was not quite so undemocratic, so utterly at the mercy of political leaders, as it here seems to be. The fact that the books have value rests upon the knowledge which their readers will bring to them, and consequently their use will be by students of American history. To a European and to the average American they must be dry as dust.

A central idea in both books is Professor Dunning's favorite contention that the Republican party of to-day has no organic and little vital connection with the party that elected Lincoln in 1860. No one can candidly read them without acknowledging that this thesis has, on the whole, been maintained, though it seems somewhat over-insisted upon. The gradual development of a homogeneity and a purpose by the "Union" party has not been made sufficiently clear.

Mr. Brummer has the more interesting field, and the more difficult. That he is able to treat of the mazes of New York factional fights and leave clear impressions of certain general movements, is a tribute to his constructive skill. Particularly he shows the influence of the war in breaking down old factions and lessening the power of faction, and

the gradual evolution of groups held together by their views of war policy. Mr. Brummer is distinctly a "Unionist", and he does not seem quite fair to the greatest figure with whom he has to deal, Horatio Seymour. He brings out more clearly than ever before the reasons for Seymour's failure to grasp the helm of the Democratic party, and, by inference, the loss that party sustained in Douglas; but he fails to appreciate, at least sympathetically, Seymour's point of view. Thurlow Weed has never been better revealed, and the portrait gains by being sympathetic. Weed's subtle virtues, unlike Seymour's, evaporate under too severe criticism. The number of interesting men concerned with the politics of a single state is remarkable, and in general the descriptions of them are lively, and the estimates of their character, sound.

Mr. Porter is somewhat more judiciously minded than Mr. Brummer, or at least does not express his own opinions so freely. His statement at the beginning of his discussion of the Peace Democracy, that its leaders "continued to use argument when emotion was dominant" (p. 128), is not borne out by his subsequent account of their policies (pp. 189, 191, 225, etc.), and the quotations from their turgid speeches (pp. 157, 178). Yet his account of that movement as a whole is colorless in the better sense. In citing acts of Congress he should have referred to the *Statutes*, rather than to McPherson's *History of the Rebellion* (p. 105). William Allen should not be referred to as *Governor* in the Bibliographical Note (p. 255), and as *Senator* elsewhere (pp. 133, 229, etc.). A commendable feature, not found in Mr. Brummer's work, is the mapping of significant votes. In this way Mr. Porter has made plain the remarkable persistence of Ohio's political geography. Still scarcely enough is made of geography, and particularly of Ohio's contact with the slave-holding states. The Border-State convention is not mentioned. Of course, the chief personal interest centres in the career of Vallandigham, and the portion of the book dealing with him is undoubtedly the best. The account of Vallandigham, however, like that of all other leaders, is so purely objective that no concept of his character is given. It may be that the historian should present historic figures solely through their acts, but politics alone do not give a wide enough basis of fact to afford grounds for a just estimate. The discussion of negro suffrage with which the book closes is well done, and contains some new material.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Robert E. Lee: Man and Soldier. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE.
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1911. Pp. xviii, 734.)

MR. PAGE wrote this life "in obedience to a feeling that as the son of a Confederate soldier, as a Southerner, as an American, he, as a writer, owes something . . . which he should endeavor to pay" (p. xv). He believes that: "The reputation of the South has suffered because we have allowed rhetoric to usurp the place of history" (xviii). His thesis is that Lee belongs to the first rank of captains though whether

one of six or one of fourteen, is not clear (p. 68). He wishes, therefore, to be judged from the historical and literary points of view, and as to his success in maintaining his thesis.

Mr. Page's reputation makes it unnecessary to say that there is good writing. It soon becomes obvious, however, that he is not at home in handling documents. Particularly, the repetition of phrases and facts becomes wearisome, and the total literary effect of the book is heavy.

Historically, Mr. Page has made use of the best authorities, but there are many minor errors. The Whisky Rebellion occurred before Washington's death (p. 9). Historians will agree that the states "at last" bore the expense of their cadets at West Point; but the statement: "There being at that time no high tariff and no internal revenue taxation to maintain the National Government, [they] made a yet more direct contribution than since the war" (p. 42), is mysterious. More important is the fact that he has not been able to escape his prejudices, though in many cases he has made an heroic attempt to do so: a struggle which often gives an appearance of inconsistency. On page 68 he praises Grant highly, but in the discussion of Grant's campaigns he does not give him sufficient ability to put Lee into proper relief. It certainly was not "novel to question" the "right" of secession in 1861 (p. 45). His discussion of the "resources" of the sections (pp. 67-79) is valueless. He shares John Randolph's prejudice in favor of the "good old thirteen states" (pp. 78 ff.).

As a study of Lee, the book, in spite of an effort to avoid it (p. xv), resembles too much the early lives of Washington. Lee is so well rounded, so self-contained, that it is difficult to bring him before a subsequent generation. This book does comparatively little to accomplish it; it is almost totally lacking in the keen analysis that marks Gamaliel Bradford's recent articles in the *Atlantic*. The main emphasis is on Lee's military genius, and here Mr. Page falls into an error which Lee himself always avoided—that of blaming subordinates, or the government, or chance, for Lee's failures, except those due to lack of resources. It never seems to occur to Southern writers that the Northern army had anything to do with the result at Gettysburg. Mr. Page can hardly bring himself to criticize the Virginian Stuart, and so puts the blame on Longstreet who is a general scapegoat. The failure to crush McClellan was due to Jackson. The battle of Malvern Hill was practically a Confederate success. Lee's first invasion of Maryland and his failure to crush Hooker at Chancellorsville and Grant in the Wilderness, were due to strange mishaps. That the commander was in any way responsible for his subordinates, is mentioned only once (p. 617), that military operations are generally liable to strange mishaps is never mentioned. It can hardly be expected that this book will be of any weight in establishing Lee's position as a general; its study of his character is not a contribution to the literature on the subject, but may enlighten many who have not read Mr. Bradford's articles or Lee's own letters.

Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar: a Memoir. By MOORFIELD STOREY and EDWARD W. EMERSON. (Boston and New York; Houghton Mifflin Company. 1911. Pp. 355.)

THIS brief biography of Judge Hoar is to be welcomed hardly less because of the light which it throws upon important historic movements and events in which he bore an active part than for its convincing portrayal of the man whom Lowell described as of all his friends "the most genuine Yankee".

Born in Concord, Massachusetts, the son of Samuel Hoar and the elder brother of George Frisbie Hoar, heredity and environment combined to make him the type of man and citizen of which Massachusetts is most proud. His frequent calls to public service never lessened the lure of his quiet home in his native town, with its intimate friendships with Emerson and Hawthorne and less distinguished neighbors. Nor was he without honor in his own country: for two-score years at almost every occasion of civic interest he was Concord's chosen representative.

He early showed a keen aptitude for politics, and soon became one of the most influential leaders in the movement which disrupted the Whig party. His keenness of tongue and pen made him a formidable fighter. The antithesis, "Cotton Whigs" and "Conscience Whigs" came from him, and to the Republican platform in 1856 he contributed the telling phrase, "those two relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery". Though influential in party councils and in campaign work, he never sought office, and accepted it with reluctance when elected to the Massachusetts senate, and later for a single term to the national House of Representatives. In his later years it was hard for him to see excellence outside of the Republican party; he regarded Mugwumps—including his three sons—"with amused tolerance".

He became one of the foremost jurists in his commonwealth, and was early appointed to the court of common pleas. After six years of service he resigned, but later accepted an appointment to the Massachusetts supreme court, to which he gave ten years of eminent service, at the end of which he became attorney-general in Grant's Cabinet.

The historical interest of this book centres mainly in the light which it sheds upon the personality of Grant and the events of his administrations. At the very first Cabinet meeting which Judge Hoar attended, the President announced his intention to appoint a certain man chief justice of one of the territories, adding that he had great sympathy with this veteran, who had lost both legs in battle. His counsellors sat in embarrassed silence, until the Attorney-General remarked: "Mr. President, it seems to me that mere absence of legs is not a sufficient qualification for a judicial office." His colleagues were somewhat aghast, but the President laughed, and the appointment was never made. The episode is to a degree typical of relations which continued to obtain between the shrewd judge and his inexperienced chief. Particularly in matters of "sound money" and of appointments to the new circuit

judgeships his influence was effective. He secured a strong list of judges, but in so doing he incurred the hostility of many a senator who had hoped to pay political debts by the gift of one of these nominations. The opportunity for revenge was at hand, for when Grant appointed Judge Hoar for a position upon the Supreme Bench much angry opposition was encountered; for five months the nomination was before the Senate, and was then rejected. "What could you expect for a man who had snubbed seventy senators?" was the comment of one of that body.

Judge Hoar first learned of his selection for Cabinet office from the bulletin-boards of Boston newspapers. Almost equally abrupt was the intimation that his resignation was desired, when Grant saw an opportunity to win favor at the South by appointing an Attorney-General from that section. Judge Hoar bore this astounding treatment "with perfect serenity", not allowing it to chill his personal regard for the President. Only a few months later, Grant again sought his service as a member of the Joint High Commission which adjusted the long-pending controversy with Great Britain by the treaty of Washington.

It is fitting that the biography of this jurist and loyal son of Concord should have been prepared as the joint product of the leader of the Massachusetts bar and the son of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Judge Hoar's lifelong friend. Sympathetic insight and the command of personal memories and documents have enabled them to present a striking characterization of the man. Yet this biography obviously suffers from a lack of unified interest and responsibility. Its structure is very loose. Repetitions in almost identical phrase occur even on consecutive pages. Heavy dependence has been placed upon Senator Hoar's autobiography. The headings of the longest chapters, *The Public Spirited Citizen* and *Personal Reminiscences*, permit a loose stringing of episodes, many of great interest, but some of trifling importance. Nevertheless, in these pages Judge Hoar stands forth as a virile personality, a nineteenth-century Puritan, as shrewd as he was learned, devotedly loyal and largely serviceable to his native town and to his college, to his commonwealth, and to his country.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

J. L. M. Curry: a Biography. By EDWIN ANDERSON ALDERMAN and ARMISTEAD CHURCHILL GORDON. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. Pp. xvii, 468.)

JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY was born in Georgia in 1825, he studied law at Harvard, "went off" to the Mexican War in 1846, entered the Alabama legislature in 1847, became a member of Congress in 1857, and was a leader of national reputation in 1860, when he was only thirty-five years old. He was next a member of the Confederate Congress, a colonel in the Confederate army, a minister in the Baptist Church, a college professor in Richmond, Virginia, and a popular lecturer on educational topics. From 1881 till his death in 1903 he was agent of the

Peabody Trust and the foremost educational leader and evangelist in the South. But he was too good a Southerner to resist the invitation of President Cleveland to represent the United States at the Court of Spain where he "assisted" at the birth of the present monarch.

This was an eventful life and worthy to be recorded. He kept a diary during most of his life, made copies of his important letters, and filed clippings and other data bearing on his career or the events in which he had a hand. This collection has been used by the authors with care and good sense; their references and quotations whet the appetite for a fuller acquaintance with this original material. It ought certainly to be preserved.

In politics Curry was of the Calhoun school, a strict constructionist of the Federal Constitution, and he died loyal to this idea, though his attitude toward the Blair bill must have given his conscience some troublesome scruples. On slavery he was an extremist, believing absolutely in the righteousness and the advisability of admitting Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution—he thought it to be the duty of Congress to protect slavery in a territory in spite of the "unfriendly legislation" of which Douglas spoke in the debates with Lincoln. And when the South seceded he rejoiced.

But the authors of this book take pains many times to argue that Curry did not fight for slavery, but simply for "constitutional freedom" and the "sovereignty of the individual state" (p. 157). This is so frequently brought into the narrative that the reader is led to suspect the accuracy and doubt the force of the claim.

Curry's life work, that of an educational evangelist for the South, receives, as is quite proper, large attention. Curry's abilities were decidedly of the emotional and oratorical character; he could preach most effectively, and when he pleaded the cause of Southern education, of negro education, even the southern legislatures were impelled to action, and the press gave him big head-lines. It was this gift of stirring the feelings of men which moved the Peabody board to employ him, and which enabled him to set in motion the reforms which have so radically revolutionized Southern thought and habit on the subject of popular education. President Alderman, himself, is an intellectual child of Curry as well as a successful leader in the same cause; Charles D. McIver of North Carolina was another of those firebrands of reform that Curry set in motion.

If there is a weakness in this modest biography it is just in this matter of the continuation of Curry's work; but this would have involved too much that would have been personal and invidious which may well be left to the historian of the "New South". Such an historian can not fail in his final reckoning not only to give this gifted Alabamian a high place among statesmen, but also to devote much space to the cause which he made popular and which is being carried forward all over the South by his successors.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Memories of Two Wars: Cuban and Philippine Experiences. By FREDERICK FUNSTON, Brigadier-General, U. S. Army. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1911. Pp. xv, 451.)

THIS book of some 130,000 words has the qualities both of stirring adventure and information. A third is given to experiences in the Cuban insurrectionary forces in 1896 and 1897; the remainder deals with the service of the author as the colonel of a Kansas volunteer regiment in the Philippines.

The account of the manner of joining the Cuban army in August, 1896, is not least in interest. Incidentally the description of departure from the United States in company with a body of Cubans and a cargo of warlike stores, in the tug *Dauntless*, one of the most famous and successful of the filibustering vessels, is a tribute to the good faith of the American government in its efforts to prevent such expeditions. Though so many were successful, it was through remarkable cleverness and secrecy on the part of the Cubans in evading the vigilance of American officials and cruisers. The *Dauntless* carried to Cuba a Hotchkiss 12-pounder, which was to be part of the small artillery force with which the author was to be connected through the whole of his Cuban experience, but the cargo of 1300 rifles with 460,000 rounds, besides much else, illustrates how valuable to the Cubans was the close neighborhood of the United States. There is a touch of humor in the fact that a great "Cuban" fair in New York City in 1896 for the purchase of "hospital supplies" furnished much of the funds for the purchase of the cargo.

The author's accounts of Gomez and Calixto Garcia are vivid and interesting, and those of the actions in which he was engaged give a much higher idea of Cuban and Spanish courage and energy than is generally held. Spain failed because she sent a vast body of infantry to Cuba, when her chief force should have been mounted. Funston estimates the number of Cubans actually under arms at the time of the intervention by the United States as 35,000. The total number who served in the war was 53,744; of these, 5,180 were killed in action or died of wounds. This large proportion is striking when compared with such losses by ourselves in the War of 1812 and the Mexican War, *viz.*, 1877 and 1721. In the face of such figures there can be no question but that the Cubans "took chances".

Despite his field experience as an officer in command of Cuban artillery, the author says respecting his appointment as colonel of the Kansas regiment, "While I had seen much campaigning and no little fighting, my service had been in a force in which drill or other training was a practically unknown quantity". He thus felt that the raw regiment "should be under the direction of one who knew at least something of infantry drill". The governor overruled his modesty. Some of his own and of the regiment's deficiencies in such matters were made up by the four months' drill while waiting at San Francisco for embarkation for Manila, October 27, 1898.

The transport *Indiana* arrived at Manila on November 30 and within a week the regiment was ashore facing the trenches of the Filipino army which practically invested the city. The record of the coming two years, in 271 pages, is one of almost incessant and gallant action, which gives a very high idea of the American soldier's energy and courage. The whole culminates in the extraordinary and picturesque episode of the capture of Aguinaldo, March 23, 1901, which brought to the author a commission as brigadier-general in the regular army.

The book has a large number of admirable illustrations by F. C. Yohn. The only adverse criticism is that there ought to be maps of those parts of Cuba and of the Philippines in which the actions so entertainingly and instructively described took place, and there should be more and fuller dates. "The 14th", for example, particularly when it occurs in a stretch of several pages, is not a date. Barring these comments, the book deserves unreserved praise.

The Relations of the United States and Spain: the Spanish-American War. By FRENCH ENSOR CHADWICK, Rear-Admiral U. S. Navy (Retired). In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1911. Pp. xii, 412; vii, 514.)

THESE important volumes constitute a most welcome addition to the literature of the Spanish-American War. They have a peculiar value as being from the pen of an officer of the navy who was not only an active and distinguished participant, in command of a battleship, but who also filled the important and delicate position of chief of staff to Admiral Sampson. The work cannot be accepted as final and definitive, its scope being clearly indicated by the title "documentary history", whence the trained historian can conveniently draw material supplemented by professional comment.

It naturally results that the chapters relative to the operations of the army and of the navy are of unequal historic value. Those which pertain to the North Atlantic fleet are especially full, and may well be considered as authoritative. The volumes are dedicated to Admiral Sampson, and the author, despite evident efforts at impartiality, cannot entirely eliminate the personal and official bias acquired during his war service. Judged by the index, Sampson's services take up one-eighth of the two volumes.

The chapters on ante-bellum conditions admirably portray the situation from both the Spanish and the American standpoints. The preparations of Dewey, the voyage of the *Oregon*, the vacillating policy regarding the ill-fated *Maine*, the plans for blockade, and the unpreparedness of both Spain and the United States are set forth with clarity and forcefulness.

There are few reports that are new to the general public. The most striking is the acknowledgment of the strategic failure, at a critical period, of the naval war board, in not accepting the accurate report of

the army of the arrival of Cervera's fleet at Santiago de Cuba. The discrediting of this report by the naval war board in Washington and by Admiral Sampson at Key West (I. 266-272), renders inexplicable the harsh censure in former years of Admiral Schley for similar disbelief when in receipt of information (I. 289) that Cervera had left Santiago.

Admiral Dewey's achievements at Manila are convincingly set forth as worthy of high acclaim from his countrymen. Generous, if unique action towards a fallen foe was that of Captain Lamberton (I. 201) in permitting and advising the withdrawal of two Spanish regiments from Cavite, without parole or surrender, so as to avoid having "prisoners or incumbrances on shore".

Attention in these volumes centres on the operations of the North Atlantic fleet, particularly in the blockade of Santiago and the destruction of the Spanish fleet. The account of this much-discussed naval battle brings together a large amount of most interesting matter. The figures of Sampson and of his pathetic foil, Cervera, loom large in these pages.

Amusingly enough the spirit of "the recall" enters the work, for in connection with what "may seem small work" to some (I. 146), in picking up Spanish fishing-boats as prizes, Admiral Chadwick advances arguments to show the unsoundness of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States relative to such seizures.

This "documentary history", which purports "to give all important orders, telegrams and reports", is strangely deficient as to the operations of the army. It requires little reflection to recognize that the success of the war involved the occupancy and control of several widely separated countries whose population exceeded nine millions.

Probably the most important omission relates to the Signal Corps, which does not get into even the index of these volumes. It is not alone that the Signal Corps controlled all the cables of the United States, and that it established and operated the cable, telegraph, and telephonic systems abroad, without which the war would have been indefinitely prolonged, but that through circumstances it even affected the crucial campaign.

In the *Report of the Secretary of War, 1898* (vol. I., pt. I., p. 880), the chief signal officer reports that by "his representations he was responsible for the inception of this [Santiago] campaign, which proved to be the turning point of the war". Secretary of the Navy Long says: "All military and naval movements depended upon that point (the presence of Cervera in Santiago Harbor)" (*ibid.*, p. 894).

The "marked instance of a failure [by the navy] in the very basis of successful operations—information" which the author mentions (Chadwick, I. 70), was more flagrantly repeated in its failures to locate Cervera's fleet, the navy being entirely indebted to the army for the news, a matter now of historic, as well as then of national importance.

The Key West cable office (working with Havana), from the middle of April, 1898, to the end of the war, was a military office, managed and

operated solely by officers and employees of the Signal Corps, the latter sworn to secrecy and loyalty. The telegram on which President McKinley acted was an official despatch from Captain (afterwards Colonel) James Allen, received by the chief signal officer in cipher, May 19, given at once to the President, and later by his orders to the secretary of the Navy. Colonel Allen in his official report (*Annual Report, 1898*, Secretary of War, vol. I., pt. I., p. 946) says: "On the morning of May 19 the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera was located at Santiago de Cuba. Its presence was at once telegraphed to the Chief Signal Officer . . . [in cipher], and reported in person to the senior naval officer at Key West." How Admiral Crowninshield knows that this cipher despatch was preceded by a private telegram is of interest. If his statements regarding the Helling's despatch are accurate, it was none the less an army message from a military employee who disgracefully violated his oath of fidelity by betraying to a corporation for its use and dissemination a military secret of the highest importance to the nation.

It is enough that, as Chadwick shows, the navy discredited this information and permitted ten days to elapse before it verified the news of Cervera's presence. But as this news resulted in the speedy termination of the war, and as it was purely an army achievement, it is doubly unfortunate that Admiral Chadwick, doubtless through inadvertence, failed to incorporate this report in his work. Such omission cannot fail to cast doubt on other important matters bearing on the co-operative action of the two services.

The character of the work leads inevitably to comparisons between the army and the navy, which unfortunately are not always treated with discretion and fullness. For instance, remarks on the relative health of the two services should have been materially reduced or greatly extended, so that the reader, fully informed, might draw just conclusions. Nevertheless the work is one of marked historical value.

A. W. GREELY.

The Story of a Great Court. By JOHN BRADLEY WINSLOW, LL.D.
(Chicago: T. H. Flood and Company. 1912. Pp. xiv, 421.)

THIS history of the supreme court of Wisconsin from territorial days to the close of 1880, by its present chief justice, has more than local interest. It exhibits the origins of a judicial tribunal under the conditions of frontier life; it portrays the traits and antecedents of characteristic early jurists of the Middle West, some of whom achieved renown beyond state limits, and it deals with several decisions of national importance.

At the outset the author takes note of the fact that Wisconsin's first constitution, which was rejected in 1846 because of other reasons, contained the provision for an elective judiciary and that this provision was retained in the constitution of 1848. Thus it was a pioneer in this sys-

tem. "During the entire history of the separate Supreme Court from its organization in 1853 up to the present time it has had but twenty-five judges. . . . Since a very early period in the history of Wisconsin with a single recent exception no sitting judge who has been a candidate for re-election has been defeated, notwithstanding a number of attempts in that direction, and judges who have reached that bench have been given practically a life tenure." This result Justice Winslow attributes to the clause of the constitution giving the governor power in case of a vacancy to appoint a judge to hold until the election of his successor, and especially to the clause providing that no election of a judge should be held within thirty days of a general election. Under these provisions eleven of the twenty-five judges who have constituted this court have been put on the bench by appointment and the people have with one exception ratified their appointment by election.

The author details the various failures to make political capital in Wisconsin out of a judge's unpopular decisions and the defeat of partizan politics in judicial campaigns. It is probable also, though the chief justice does not touch the point, that the tendency of the court, particularly in recent years, to grant due but unconstrained recognition to the effect of changed economic conditions upon the interpretation of the law has strengthened the bench in the confidence of the state.

Among the important cases which are critically discussed are the Booth case, arising over the rescue of a fugitive slave, where the court took high state sovereignty ground and was supported by the people in various test elections up to the eve of the Civil War; the railroad tax decisions of 1859 and 1860; the farm mortgage controversy; and the Potter Law (granger) case of 1874. Justice Winslow gives an excellent account of such jurists as Paine, notable in the state sovereignty argument, Dixon who set his face against the popular clamor for a relief system for farm mortgage sufferers, and the distinguished Ryan whose most notable opinion was in the decision of 1874 upholding the right of the state to regulate the railroads.

It is worth mention that up to 1880, including the temporary court which preceded the establishment of the supreme court, of the judges who served in this tribunal, ten were born in New York, five in New England, one in Ohio, and two (including the ablest of them all, Justice Ryan) in Ireland.

Chief Justice Winslow has exhibited not only legal acumen and learning in his work, but also real historical ability.

FREDERICK J. TURNER.

Annexation, Preferential Trade, and Reciprocity. An outline of the Canadian Annexation Movement of 1849-1850, with special reference to the Questions of Preferential Trade and Reciprocity. By CEPHAS D. ALLIN, M.A., LL.B., Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota, and GEORGE M. JONES, B.A., English and History Master, Humberside Collegiate Institute, Toronto. (Toronto and London: The Musson Book Company. 1911. Pp. xii, 398.)

AFTER reading the sweeping general title of this volume it is somewhat of an anti-climax to discover on perusing the subtitle that in fact the book is confined to the Canadian annexation movement of the two years 1849-1850. In actual treatment, moreover, it is even more limited in scope. But three pages are given to the movement in the Maritime Provinces and not many pages more are allotted to discussing the attitude of either the United States or Great Britain. Thus we have here a very intensive study in an extremely limited field.

The annexation movement of these years, according to our authors, had its start after the defeat of the Tory party in the election of 1848, a defeat due in a measure to the fact that Lord Elgin, the newly appointed governor-general, abstained from interfering in the election, in accordance with the more liberal colonial policy adopted by Great Britain after the revolt of 1837. In this election the French had favored the Liberals and thus aroused in the Tories the bugbear of French domination. Furthermore, the members of the Tory party were extremely annoyed by the passage and signing of the Rebellion Losses Bill. But a more serious cause of unrest than either of these difficulties was the economic depression into which the country was plunged following the adoption of free trade by Great Britain. "Temporary insolvency was the price which Canadians paid for the triumph of English free trade" (p. 20). The preferential duties which had theretofore favored Canadian grain and millers now disappeared and the question of finding a market was the most pressing one before the country. Annexation to the United States seemed to offer a solution. Moreover, much of the carrying trade was being diverted to the United States, and New York was becoming the distributing centre for the business of western Canada, much to the dismay of Montreal, a situation which was only partially relieved by the repeal of the navigation laws in 1849.

Out of the economic distress, the social discontent, and the turmoil of race and party thus created, arose the British American League. After a considerable struggle the convention of the league took a stand in favor of protection and a union of the British-American provinces, measures which were expected to offer an escape from the evils of French domination, economic depression, and annexation. The annexationists, having failed to secure control of the league, found it necessary to unite the various elements of their supporters in an association of their

own. A manifesto was issued and an active campaign begun. The agitation was favored by the steady increase in the economic depression during the latter months of 1849, and annexation became the leading issue of the day. The chief stronghold of the movement was in Lower Canada, where it was favored by the ultra-Tories as an escape from French domination, by the radical French as a move towards a more republican form of government, and by the commercial classes as a relief from economic distress. It was opposed by the bulk of the Liberal reformers then in control of the government, by the moderate Tories, and, under the leadership of their clergy, by the great majority of the French. In fact the unresponsive, unsympathetic, and passive attitude of the French is declared to have constituted "the strongest barrier against the spread of annexation tenets" (p. 151). In this section, too, nearly the whole of the press favored annexation. In Upper Canada, however, the situation was very different; most of the disturbing features were lacking and but few of the papers espoused the cause. Yet even there the movement was gaining headway enough so that the government felt obliged to take a definite stand against it. Several officials who had signed annexation manifestoes were dismissed, and in January, 1850, the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, definitely stated that the British government would actively oppose any such move. A flank attack on the movement was also made by sending both British and Canadian emissaries to Washington to try to secure concessions for Canadian products and reciprocity, but they met with only the most half-hearted response. Even the annexationists failed to arouse much enthusiasm for their cause outside of New York and New England; the issue inevitably became bound up with the question of slavery and the South steadily opposed it. By December, 1849, trade conditions began to look better and thereafter steadily improved. This combined with the hostility of the government, the unresponsive attitude of the United States, and the great lack of unity and leadership among the annexationists themselves slowly undermined the strength of the movement and during the first half of the year 1850 it gradually passed from the field of politics. Its significance in Canadian annals may be found in the fact that, "the history of the protective policy in Canada dates from the adoption of the free-trade policy in England. The annexation movement was one of the passing phases of the struggle of the business interests for fiscal favours" (p. 290).

The authors' treatment of this subject is based very largely on newspaper editorials, manifestoes, and convention proceedings, and summaries of this material or extracts occupy the greater portion of the text. Little attempt seems to have been made to look behind these and to examine the actual situation as regards the economic depression by statistical investigation of any sort, in spite of the fact that the authors insist that there is to be found the chief cause of both the rise and decline of the annexation movement. Some investigation of this point, even at the expense of

further condensation of newspaper editorials, would have made the study more authoritative and complete. However, within the limited scope which the authors have set for themselves they have produced a highly intensive study, judicial in tone and eminently thorough.

CHESTER W. WRIGHT.

Old Panama and Castilla del Oro. With maps and rare illustrations.

By Dr. C. L. C. ANDERSON, Medical Reserve Corps, United States Army. (Washington: The Sudwarth Company. 1911. Pp. xv, 559.)

THE imminent opening of the Panama Canal has recalled attention to the history of the isthmus which, because of the early recognition of its strategic importance, must always be considered apart from the rest of Central America. This book is offered with the following explanation: "Barring the monumental work by Bancroft, not in reach of the general reader, there is no book in English dealing fitly with the early history of the Panama region, nor in any language is this information given in a single volume" (p. xiii).

The author's intention being to supply this deficiency, it would be unfair to expect the presentation of new material. The bibliography comprehends practically all printed sources in Spanish, English, and French, and a large number of the most important and trustworthy modern accounts. Manuscript and periodical material has not, apparently, been utilized at all. The *Calendar of State Papers Colonial*, though particularly informative as to the privateers from Jamaica, has not been used as extensively as it should be in correction of Exquemelin's more picturesque but less accurate account. The writer's own knowledge of the geography of the isthmus has enabled him to conjecture its former topography with great probability of accuracy, and has made his descriptions of the character of the country lucid and valuable.

The narrative covers the chief events of the story of Panama from the discovery to the failure of the Darien Colony in 1700. In view of the narrow and crowded scope it is regrettable that four chapters should be devoted to Columbus's early life and first three voyages, which might have been dismissed in one, since the discovery of the isthmus was made only in the fourth voyage. Nor can the brief accounts of Drake's exploit in the harbor of Cadiz and the fate of the Armada be regarded as pertinent. The sixteenth century receives a disproportionate share of attention, four chapters only (out of a total of twenty-four) being allowed the seventeenth, and those dealing primarily not with the isthmus, but with the assailants of the isthmus—the English buccaneers and the Scotch in Darien. The book is really a history not of Spanish settlement in that region, but of a succession of adventures: first the *Conquistadores*, then the Freebooters.

In the supplementary title, a "narrative history" is promised, and to

narration the author has strictly adhered, seldom allowing himself comment or deduction. He has made no attempt to fill in the European background, which could hardly be included in the compass of a single volume, though without it, the course of events in Panama seems chaos indeed. If the space of this review permitted, there are a few statements of fact which might be challenged, but, in the main, the accuracy with which the writer has followed the best contemporary accounts must be admitted. The foot-notes are generally by way of elaboration rather than reference and quoted passages occur not unfrequently in both text and foot-notes without citation of author or work. The style is informal and generally clear, but dignity has been sacrificed in such expressions as the following: "The Christian priests got busy and baptised Comagre" (p. 163); "The horses and bloodhounds soon had the natives on the jump" (p. 198); "The walls of their brag fort demolished and made into concrete" (p. 12); "Another opportunity to get in the game presented itself" (p. 233). To these must be added the intransitive use of *locate*, *laying* for *lying*, and the surprising frequency of *like* for *as*.

The book is handsomely illustrated, but is very unwieldy by reason of heavy paper and over-generous margin. The custom of designating pages by means of figures is too ancient and honorable to be so lightly discarded.

MINOR NOTICES

A Survey of Constitutional Development in China. By Hawklings L. Yen, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XL., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1911, pp. 136.) A brief description of this monograph will serve the readers of this REVIEW better than any discussion of its author's views. He has arranged his matter with due relation to the prevailing ignorance of English readers on Chinese history, so that anyone interested in the subject might profitably begin a serious study of its institutions with this little work as an introduction. A true philosophy of government is ascribed by Dr. Yen to four schools existing about the time of the fifth century B. C., but it might be questioned whether two of these, corresponding roughly to the Epicurian and Sophist *credenda*, which arose after Confucius, are properly called political, even in its widest sense. However this may be, the Confucian idea prevailed after a brief reaction and has controlled the mind of China ever since. The pragmatism of Confucius evolved a theory of rule in accordance with examples furnished by nature. Heaven, earth, and man must operate together; the first two being constant factors, the last, ever changing in character, may govern well or ill according to his conformity with the others. The "Divinity that shapes our ends" is thought of by Confucius

only as one who "gives birth to millions of people and erects for them the king and teacher".

The structure of government approved by the sage, with its minute classifications under the ancient feudal system, is sufficiently outlined in the second chapter of this book. More interest will be awakened in the general reader by the chapter on public law. In this the author reveals the principles that underlie the famous *Spring and Autumn Annals*, a recondite work in which Confucius is supposed to have indicated his approval or disapprobation of the conduct of historical personages by a nice system of recording their acts in set terms. The *Annals* have been treated with scant courtesy by European critics, but when the rules of the game are understood it is a *tour de force* of historiography; its key is suggested by the classical commentators, but the nature of the work is here made plain to Western students as never before. The break-up of feudal China was followed by expansion and centralization under the Chin Dynasty, and this by a popular upheaval in 206 B. C. that brought in the house of Han, but after the restoration of order the influence of the Confucian system remained to control society and the state in Eastern Asia for twenty centuries. Dr. Yen's concluding chapter is a brief résumé of the movement in China for a written constitution, which, remote as it is in time from the fall of the Chow Dynasty, gains new significance to American observers when shown to be the first departure from an accepted tradition made in two thousand years of Chinese history.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

The Religious Life of Ancient Rome. A Study in the Development of Religious Consciousness from the Foundation of the City until the Death of Gregory the Great. By Jesse Benedict Carter. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911, pp. 270.) The eight chapters of this book represent substantially an equal number of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute in Boston in January of last year. In them Professor Carter traces the development of Roman religion from its earliest manifestations among an agricultural and pastoral folk, through the successive stages of Etruscan, Greek, and Oriental influence, down to its conflict with Christianity; and he then continues the story through Pope Gregory's reign and the end of the sixth century. Naturally, when covering so long a period, the author could give only the main outlines, and it was inevitable that he should state somewhat dogmatically certain things as accepted truths, although in reality they are still under debate. However no one will quarrel with him over these matters, for his survey of his large field is interesting and suggestive; his book meets a real need, no such survey has hitherto been available. Furthermore Carter has shown much skill in selecting the significant features of an age or movement and in presenting these vividly; he has also appreciated the value of great personalities, and has wisely made his last five chapters

centre about Constantine, Julian, Ambrose, Augustine, Benedict, and Gregory, for whom he secures an added interest by the recital of many anecdotes. If it be urged that the anecdotal element is somewhat large in the later lectures, it is only fair to remember that these chapters were lectures for popular audiences, whose attention was certainly won and held at the time of their delivery, as is the reader's now.

It is gratifying to find Christianity treated as an integral part of the period under consideration and not as something apart. In reality our faith can only be properly regarded as an Oriental religion, which had to make its appeal side by side with other Eastern faiths. Its victory was one proof of its validity. Carter has managed this part of his book so skilfully—but with all honesty—that no fair-minded person can fail to approve his method.

There are, however, a few queries which inevitably arise. Is it wise to state so certainly that the Etruscans came out of Babylonia (p. 19)? Was Mithras so much the supreme opponent of Christianity in the third and fourth centuries (p. 120)? And did not the Isiac communities at least have a "Church" organization as well as the Mithraists and the Christians? Although Mithras apparently had more devotees in the third century than any other Oriental divinity, he was far from completely overshadowing Isis or the Great Mother, and in the pagan revival of the fourth century he hardly had the chief place. Indeed Mithraism, *pace* Harnack and his followers, was not the sole or the greatest opponent of Christianity when the final struggle came. Again Carter's statement (p. 93) with regard to the association of the *taurobolium* with Mithras is not clear. Yet these are comparatively small matters which do not seriously affect the real interest of the book.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des Römischen Katholizismus. Von Dr. Carl Mirbt, Professor der Kirchengeschichte an der Universität Marburg. Dritte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1911, pp. xxiv, 514.) An indication of the completeness of this "source book" on the history of the papacy may, perhaps, be found in the fact that after ten years' use so few changes have been deemed necessary. The second edition appeared in 1901 and consisted of 482 pages: this edition is increased by only 32 pages. The *format* of the book is, however, somewhat larger and the type smaller. Very few of the old texts have been omitted. No one will regret the ten which have been dropped. Some of them, such as the letter of John VIII. (no. 167) on the use of Slavic as a liturgical language, were of doubtful authenticity, and others of no general historical interest. One hundred and thirteen new texts have been added. These are unequally distributed among different epochs in the history of the papacy. For the early period there are several new extracts from the writings of Papias, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Cyril of Alexandria, Augustine, etc., some con-

ciliar decrees of the synods of Illeberis, Arelate, and Nicaea, together with the Liberian Catalogue and the monastic rule of St. Benedict. A larger number of new documents have been added for the medieval period, dealing with the history of papal elections, the Carolingian Donations, the Eucharistic controversy, the Investiture struggle, and the conflict between the popes and the Hohenstaufen. There are few additions in the period between the Reformation and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the most notable, perhaps, being the Prophecy of Malachy. As might be expected, the largest number of new documents concern the current history of the papacy. These commence with the letter of Cardinal Rampolla (1900) on episcopal elections in Prussia, and end with the letter of Cardinal Merry del Val to Cardinal Kopp on the anti-modernist oath. In all there are twenty-eight of these documents. Among them are found the New Syllabus (1907), the Encyclical *Pascendi* on Modernism, and that on St. Charles Borromeo, to which is appended a list of documents dealing with the controversy to which this Encyclical gave rise in Germany. In the four supplementary sections there is much new material, especially on the "Los-von-Rom" movement in the Austrian Empire, and on some phases of the Modernist controversy in the church, the spirit of which is illustrated by extracts from the writings of Herman Schell, Joseph Schnitzer, George Tyrrel, and Alfred Loisy. It is unfortunate that a special list of texts from the Roman Breviary has been included, as these will have no value nor significance unless they are retained in the new edition of the Breviary which is now in course of publication. The work of revision has been done with painstaking thoroughness. Additional texts have been added to meet recent developments in the study of papal history; but in the choice of new as well as of old texts it is manifest that the author kept in mind pre-eminently the church in Germany and its relations with the papacy.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

A History of the British Constitution. By J. Howard B. Masterman, Vicar and Subdean of S. Michael's Collegiate Church, Coventry. (London, The Macmillan Company, 1912, pp. xiv, 291.) This little book has decided merits united with pronounced faults. In the brief compass of two hundred and eighty-four pages the author has condensed an unusual amount of information, most of it wisely selected and exceedingly worth while. Among other things, he presents a compendious account of the notable and complicated constitutional changes of recent years, both in the United Kingdom and in the colonies; of some, indeed, that are still in the parturition stage. Moreover, he sets forth his facts in a lucid and agreeable style, illuminating them by sage and suggestive comments. On the other hand, he has indulged in a luxury which the writer of a short treatise cannot afford: he has a number of pages of political narrative interspersed with his exposition of the evolution of the

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institutions with which he is properly concerned. The method employed by Maitland in his *Constitutional History of England*, except perhaps in the matter of proportion, should be the model for any book on this subject. Also, Mr. Masterman is guilty of over many slips and errors for one so obviously at home in most parts of the field. Of these a few may be indicated. The Witan did not exercise "appellate" jurisdiction in the modern sense of the term (p. 16); the Statute of Mortmain of 1279 did not prohibit all donations to the church but only required a royal license (p. 23); the hoary error should not be repeated that the Exchequer got its name from a checkered table-cloth (p. 32); Henry II. did not introduce scutage (p. 37); the court of 1178 was not, strictly speaking, the King's Bench (p. 40); it is by no means certain that Glanvil was the author of the *Tractatus* (p. 44); in medieval Latin *eligere* did not necessarily mean "to elect" (p. 45); peers began to be created by "Letters Patent" before the fifteenth century (p. 75); in discussing the Five Knights' Case, wrongly dated by the way, there is no indication that the practice recognized by the judges was condemned by the Petition of Right (p. 138); in a somewhat obscure paragraph the impeachment of Macclesfield in 1725 seems to be left out of account (p. 165); the Houses of Parliament were burned in 1834 not in 1837 (p. 175); George III.'s first attack of insanity did not occur in 1788 but in 1765 (p. 176); Convocation was revived in 1852 not 1861 (p. 281). The *post-nati* might well have seemed to Englishmen the *pest-nati*. A superfluous "s" adorns the name both of William Longchamp and Sir James Parke. Finally the reviewer would venture to register another, doubtless ineffectual, protest against the misuse of "claim" in the sense of "maintain" (pp. 6 and 8). It is to be hoped that this otherwise excellent little treatise may reach a second edition when these blemishes may be corrected.

A. L. C.

The Oak Book of Southampton of c. A. D. 1300. Transcribed and edited, with translation, introduction, notes, etc., by P. Studer, M.A., Professor in Hartley University College, Southampton. Volume II. *A Fourteenth Century Version of the Medieval Sea-Laws known as the Rolls of Oleron.* Also, *Supplement. . . . Notes on the Anglo-French Dialect of Southampton.* [Publications of the Southampton Record Society.] (Southampton, Cox and Sharland, 1911, pp. lxxi, 145; vii, 155.) The second volume of the *Oak Book* is almost as interesting and important as the first. It deals chiefly with the external politics of Southampton. Chapters v. and vi. give two tables of customs showing the commodities in which Southampton traded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Chapter vii. contains an elaborate list of the weights of various kinds of bread according to the price of corn, compiled for the use of the bailiffs who supervised the assize of bread. The first two folios of the assize are printed in full, the remainder in tabulated form.

The most valuable section of this part of the *Oak Book* is chapter ix., containing "a fourteenth century version of the Charter or Rolls of Oleron, the famous sea-laws of the Middle Ages". Few of the texts already published belong to so early a period as the fourteenth century, and "no where perhaps has the original been preserved so faithfully as in the *Oak Book*". The editor has collated the chief versions still extant to show the superiority of the Southampton text. This section of the *Book* had not even been identified till its title "*Ceo est la charte Doylyroun*" suggested to Professor Studer a connection with the Rolls of Oleron, which was verified later by careful examination and comparison. This led to a critical review of the entire question of the Rolls and their origin. He gives theories of Verwer, Pardessus, Twiss, and Kisselbach. He finds a number of interesting and important variations in the Southampton text, which are likely to aid in reconstructing the lost original of these Rolls. He accepts the view of Kisselbach that the Rolls of Oleron were originally "a compilation of customs observed by the mariners of the Gironde, especially those engaged in the wine trade". Thence they naturally found their way to England through the connection of the Plantagenets with Aquitaine. Just when this occurred is not known, but in the reign of Edward III. the Rolls had already acquired the status of laws in England. Each of the first twenty-four articles contains a mere statement of a custom and invariably ends with, "And this is the judgment in this case". The twenty-fifth article, found only in the Southampton text, reads more like an ordinance, or some other royal instrument, but ends as the others end. These Rolls had a wide circulation, and an intimate connection with Southampton as a centre of international trade.

C. T. WYCKOFF.

Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizir of Sulciman the Magnificent. By Hester Donaldson Jenkins, Ph.D., Former Professor of History in the American College for Girls, Constantinople. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XLVI., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1911, pp. 123.) Miss Jenkins has chosen a subject which lacks neither historical nor romantic interest. Save for the sultan himself, Ibrahim Pasha may pass as the greatest figure in the most brilliant reign of Turkish history; and one might take his career as a classic example of the sudden elevations and abrupt downfalls so common in the lives of Oriental adventurers of genius. Starting as a slave, of Christian extraction, Ibrahim became the all-powerful favorite, chief minister, and *alter ego* of Sultan Suleiman. Pacificator of Egypt, victor at Mohács in 1526, besieger of Vienna in 1529, conqueror of Bagdad and Tabriz, negotiator of the first Franco-Turkish alliance and of the famous "capitulations" of 1535, Ibrahim certainly played a great rôle in the world. And then, in 1536, came the tragic ending—the murder, at the sultan's orders, of a servant whose head had been turned by power.

The author's account is broadly conceived, well written and never dull. Some years' residence in Constantinople gives the touch of personal experience to her discussion of Turkish character and customs, while it has also enabled her to make use of various Turkish chronicles and recent histories, a few of which have not been utilized by previous writers on this subject.

It can hardly be said, however, that Miss Jenkins has added appreciably to our knowledge of Ibrahim's life, over and above what may be gleaned from Hammer, Jorga, Ursu, Lamansky, and other well-known works. In fact she omits much that has previously been brought to light. The reader who turns to this book for a detailed and exhaustive account of all that can at present be known about Ibrahim, will hardly be satisfied. Moreover, the work suffers from inaccuracy and carelessness. The least that one can expect from a biography of a great minister is to learn the exact date of his ministry. After making Ibrahim a vizir from 1520 on (for which one would like to know the authority), Miss Jenkins appoints him Grand Vizir in 1522, while the correct date is almost certainly 1523, and she places his murder on March 6, 1536, instead of on the well-attested date, the 16th (21 Ramadan, A. H. 942). The already too lengthy list of *errata* might easily be doubled: *e. g.*, "Belgrad" (p. 90); "Roumelie" (p. 96); "Mohacz" (p. 61); "Cantimir" (p. 19 and *passim*); "Burg" (p. 121, Professor J. B. Bury). The bibliography might have been improved, if only through consulting that in the *Cambridge Modern History*.

R. H. LORD.

Bussy d'Amboise et Madame de Montsoreau, d'après des Documents Inédits. Par Léo Mouton, Bibliothécaire à la Bibliothèque Nationale. (Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1912, pp. vi, 358.) One regrets that the time and training of a former pupil of the École des Chartes and now a member of the staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale should have been expended upon so profitless a subject when the biographies of really important men, like Damville for example, are still unwritten. The author seems to have derived little from his modern masters and to have drunk too deeply of the waters of the romantic school. The book is a pale reflection of Prosper Mérimée. M. Mouton tells us in the introduction that d'Artagnan, Bussy d'Amboise, and La Dame de Montsoreau are "types"; that his labor has been "à chercher ce qu'il y a de vrai dans le récit de Dumas"; that as in "zootechnie" many generations are required to fix a type, so sixteenth-century France produced a typical form of mankind in Bussy d'Amboise. After that "la nature semble fatiguée"—there are no more Bussys. The first page opens with a "once upon a time" overture of the romantic novel and continues so to the end. There are descriptions of the face, figure, and attire of numerous gentlemen and ladies that remind one of Mrs. Elliot's *Romance of Old Court Life in France* (*e. g.*, the word-portrait of Crillon on p. 15). The very chapter

rubrics are salaciously "romantic"—"Une grosseesse problématique—L'oncle influent—Le postscriptum d'une jolie nièce—Un ménage uni", etc. Bussy is cast in heroic mold throughout. In 1578, when Anjou's Flemish plans and Elizabeth's coquetry complicated the diplomacy of France and England Bussy is "tout-puissant". Yet Major Hume managed to write a capital work upon the *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* and only mention him three times. As a study in the sources of Dumas the book may be of some interest, but as a serious contribution to history it is of little value.

J. W. T.

Historical Portraits, 1600-1700. The lives by H. B. Butler and C. R. L. Fletcher, the portraits chosen by Emery Walker, with an introduction by C. F. Bell. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1911, pp. 325.) There is no student of seventeenth-century English history but will welcome the appearance of this interesting volume. It is true that the work of Lodge has been available in various forms for nearly a hundred years, and that many illustrated and extra-illustrated volumes like the Goupil Stuart series, Morley's *Cromwell*, the Oxford portraits, with lives of Vandyck and Lely, even such publications of the beauties of this court and that, with the portraits in illustrated magazines and art periodicals, have given us a tolerably full seventeenth-century gallery. Yet to have this collection of more than a hundred and thirty portraits in cheap and convenient form is a very desirable thing. Comparison with any publication but that of Lodge is virtually impossible, and it is interesting to observe the resemblances and differences. It is, of course, obvious that improved processes of reproduction give the present volume enormous superiority on the mechanical side. With regard to the relative literary tone and political bias one voice may speak for all. Of Cromwell's reputation Lodge wrote, "no flaming Whig pen has yet attempted to varnish it with eulogies—the fierceness of democracy has not furnished a single champion to bedaub it with coarse and plain-spoken praise". "Of his lofty aims and disinterestedness", say the present editors, "there can be no doubt. . . . Whatever his failings and mistakes, he was a man of great purpose and great mind, above all of a great spirit, which refused to believe that there was any task which an England re-inspired by Puritanism was incapable of fulfilling."

With regard to the individuals selected for such a commemoration as this there may, of course, be as many opinions as there are men to voice them. On the whole there are fewer women and more commoners than in Lodge, and the proportion of non-courtly, non-military, and non-official elements is so large that while it detracts from picturesqueness it adds to the interest. In those numerous cases where the same individual finds place in Lodge a different portrait seems to have been generally chosen. The introduction is excellent, the sketches usually good. But the arrangement, so far as a layman can judge, seems rather hopeless.

Neither exactly logical nor precisely chronological, it seems a not very successful compromise between the two. Moreover it is a grave error of judgment not to provide such a volume as this with at least an alphabetical list of portraits, if not an index. The one serious criticism which can be levelled against it is that it is so difficult to discover whether a particular individual's likeness is to be found here, and, if so, where it is.

W. C. A.

Cardinal de Retz, 1613-1679. By David Ogg. (London, Methuen and Company, 1912, pp. xi, 282.) This is the first biography of de Retz to appear in English. The author evidently wrote it while he was still an undergraduate at Oxford. His courage, in attacking a subject of peculiar difficulty at such a tender age, is to be commended. He has not aimed to be exhaustive, but he has made some use of the sources, both printed and unprinted, and has managed to throw fresh light upon one episode at least of the cardinal's career—namely, his supposed visit to England in 1660.

The book reveals the faults to be expected in an undergraduate essay made over for popular use. It is too slight for the close student and it takes too much for granted to satisfy the casual reader. In his chapters on the Fronde the author might well have sacrificed some of his details to make place for a brief, clear analysis of the movement as a whole. It would have served to explain some statements which, as they stand, are misleading—for instance, when he speaks of the “representative character” of the *Chambre de Saint Louis* and of its giving “a constitutional sanction to the parliamentary opposition” (p. 27). His estimate of de Retz himself lacks precision and consistency. We are advised at the outset that he was one of those “who in an irresponsible way were profiting by the universal disorder” (p. 53), but are subsequently informed that he was the “first practical exponent” of “the political ideals of the Revolution of 1789” (p. 251). These two statements are hardly compatible. They leave us, at the end, still groping for a final judgment.

In an appendix, the author discusses his sources and furnishes a useful list of the most valuable monographs upon his subject.

CONYERS READ.

Four Phases of American Development: Federalism—Democracy—Imperialism—Expansion. By John Bassett Moore, LL.D., Professor of International Law, Columbia University. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1912, pp. 218.) Professor Moore's volume contains the lectures given on the Schouler Foundation at the Johns Hopkins University in April, 1911, treating of American history under four selected aspects. Of the four chapters, the first two on Federalism and Democracy cover familiar ground from the customary point of view, throwing a little more than the usual emphasis, perhaps, on legal and international generalizations. The third chapter, under the heading Imperialism,

describes the extension and exaltation of central authority which began during the Civil War and has continued ever since. Apparently the author seems to mean by the term imperialism a process which most writers would hesitate so to characterize. Imperialism has always carried with it a connotation of despotic power if not of actual usurpation, and to apply the term to the necessary, apparently inevitable, assumption of control by the general government over matters which are beyond the control of any state or group of states is an innovation. In the last chapter, on Expansion, Professor Moore is at his best, dealing in authoritative and penetrating style with the history of American territorial expansion. Having shown how ludicrously we acted in suddenly discovering our status as a "world-power" in 1899, he comments destructively on our complacent assumption that we are in unique degree a peace-loving people. In fact, he concludes, history shows that the countries where universal military service prevails are less likely to rush into war than those where the people know nothing of the real significance of fighting.

In lectures of this sort, the author is almost certain to make generalizations with which a reader might be inclined to take issue. In the first chapter for instance the unqualified statement is made that the Revolution was directed against the English commercial regulations, and the Constitution is represented as the matured plan of the "American People". The most striking feature is perhaps the treatment of the Civil War, for which the Confederate name "War Between the States" is used. Ascribing the trouble to the abolitionists, whose abuse forced the South to take defensive measures, Professor Moore describes the slavery controversy as a "contest, upon the fair settlement of which any three intelligent and disinterested men, whose minds were not biased by partisanship, should have been able to agree in half an hour". Such a recrudescence of the views of Stephen A. Douglas and Henry Clay is rather startling in a book which professes to analyze "causative facts", and it is not likely to command general assent.

T. C. SMITH.

The Prehistoric Men of Kentucky: a History of what is known of their Lives and Habits, together with a Description of their Implements and other Relics and of the Tumuli which have earned for them the Designation of Mound Builders. By Colonel Bennett H. Young. [Filson Club Publications, no. 25.] (Louisville, John P. Morton and Company, 1910, pp. xiii, 343.) This royal quarto volume deals chiefly with the implements, ornaments, weapons, and utensils used by prehistoric men in the state of Kentucky. Colonel Young has been an indefatigable collector of various artifacts left by the primitive peoples of the Middle South. A perusal of his book indicates that he has concentrated his studies on the implements, objects of utility, and problematic forms, rather than upon the earthworks or monuments. His descriptions of art

in stone, shell, clay, and textiles, are quite satisfactory. He does not especially concern himself with a study of primitive cultures found in Kentucky.

On page 294 begins his narrative of discoveries in Kentucky caverns. I am sure archaeologists would have been grateful had Colonel Young devoted more space to a detailed study of man's handiwork as found in these caverns. Aside from what little Professor Putnam has published regarding the caves of Kentucky and Tennessee, we have a dearth of knowledge concerning this interesting phase of prehistoric life. There are many objects in Colonel Young's collection taken from caverns, but apparently numbers of these were removed by ignorant persons who were not competent to make observations. In other words, we have a great deal of material, especially in textile and wooden objects, but very little detailed description of conditions under which they were found. Colonel Young devotes thirty-five pages to a description of the caverns, and he might with profit have added a hundred.

It would seem that the Indians resorted in numbers, not only to Mammoth Cave but to both Salt Cave and Colossal Cavern, as well as to other places, all within ten miles of Mammoth Cave. Darkness did not deter them from leaving abundant traces of their occupation. The great quantity of cane and pine torches would indicate that they came to the caverns prepared to stay for some time. Hundreds of fragments of gourds, great quantities of sandals and moccasins, pieces of cloth, mats, leggins, ropes, cords, and garments, made of wild hemp, coarse cloth—all of these indicate that the aborigines did not visit the cavern out of mere idle curiosity but for some special purpose. Beyond question, there should be a complete exploration of these caves by competent scientists before all the material is removed.

We must express our gratitude to Colonel Young for presenting so interesting and instructive a study. These volumes cover much new ground, and Colonel Young's publication should form the basis for a thorough and systematic study of the cave occupation of Kentucky in prehistoric times. His large exhibit should be preserved in some fire-proof museum.

Providence in Colonial Times. By Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, with an introduction by J. Franklin Jameson, LL.D. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912, pp. xxi, 392.) Miss Kimball's *Providence in Colonial Times* is a book which will appeal primarily and especially to the people of Providence itself, but which can hardly fail to be of interest to Rhode Islanders generally and to students of New England life.

Roger Williams—literally the first citizen of Providence, and the subject of varied literary portrayal—receives at Miss Kimball's hands treatment both discriminating and sympathetic; and the same may be said of his successors, the merchants, the Crawfords and Browns, the clergy-

men, Checkley and Cotton, and the statesmen, Jenckes and Hopkins. What pre-eminently distinguishes Miss Kimball's book is its intimacy of touch. In the better sense, it is the "true" history of Providence. Through its pages we meet the seventeenth and eighteenth-century worthies of the town, self-revealed in personal and business correspondence and the inventories of estates. "My Dear Love", writes Roger Williams, despatching to his wife a discourse from England, "I now send thee that which I know will be sweeter to thee than the Honey and the Honey-combe. . . . I send thee (though in Winter) an handfull of flowers made up in a little Posey, for thy dear selfe and our dear children, to look and smell on, when I as the grasse of the field shall be gone, and withered." And it is John Brown, the future East India merchant and owner of the mansion on Power Street, who in 1749 adorns his "Cyphring Book" with the legend: "John Brown the Cleverest boy in Providence Town".

Indeed for the non-Rhode Islander the chapter The Shipping Trade is the most vital of the book; its paragraphs not only exhale rum and molasses, they introduce us to the slave-trade and to Spanish gold. "By all means", wrote James Brown (the father of John) to his brother Obadiah, in 1737, "make dispatch in your business if you Cannot Sell all your Slaves to your mind bring some home I believe they will Sell well, gett Molasses if you can, and if you Cannot come without it, leave no debts behind upon no Account, gett some Sugar and Cotton if you Can handily, but be Sure make dispatch for that is the life of trade."

In the chapter, Rhode Island College, Miss Kimball fails not to do justice to the early days of Brown University. "No student", she says, "could be out of his room after nine in the evening, nor was he then, nor at any other time, permitted to play 'at cards or any unlawful games, swear, lie, steal, or get drunk . . . or attend at places of idle and vain sports.' During the 'hours of study' (from nine to twelve, from two to sunset, and from seven to nine) no language save Latin might be spoken in the college edifice, or the college yard."

Miss Kimball did not live to finish the study of Providence which she had planned, but the present volume is complete for the colonial period. The introduction, from the pen of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, commemorates the author in words of rare appreciation and sympathy; the letter-press is admirable; the illustrations, of which there are about fifty, are suitably chosen and well executed; and there is an ample index. An inquiry suggests itself: May it be assumed that the portrait of "Governor William Coddington" is the portrait of William Coddington, sr. (governor, 1674-1676 and 1678), and not that of William Coddington, jr. (governor, 1683-1685)?

I. B. R.

Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707. Edited by Albert Cook Myers, with maps and a facsimile.

[Original Narratives of Early American History.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912, pp. xiv, 476.) This volume of the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History* is one of the most interesting so far published. The three colonies here represented differed in many important respects from the others; Pennsylvania, in particular, has a unique history well worthy of careful study, which the present volume will greatly aid.

In works composed of selections there will always be a difference of opinion as to choice of material, but this volume leaves little to be desired. The most important narratives are included, and the introductions and notes, though brief, are scholarly and helpful, and appear to be unusually accurate.

There is much that will be new to the average student in the documents relating to the Swedish settlements on the Delaware, and the editor deserves hearty thanks for furnishing so much material which, except to the very few, has been practically inaccessible on account of the rarity of the originals and their being in Swedish. Even those portions which may be in Professor Amandus Johnson's partly volumes would be out of the reach of many on account of the cost of that valuable work.

It is probably because Dankers and Sluyter's Journal is to be included in the series that no extracts are included from that graphic and rather caustic record; but at the same time a few pages would have been a valuable addition, for they give a view of the country and people not to be obtained elsewhere, and the absence is a distinct loss to those who might not feel able to purchase both volumes.

Little notice is taken of the Welsh settlers. Indeed, except in the introduction and notes to the "Letter of John Jones", this important element of the Pennsylvania colony is practically untouched. It is true that material is scarce, but the letter of Rowland Ellis, 1698 (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, etc., XVIII. 245), would have given some information of interest, and the "Memorial of Inhabitants of the Welch Tract, 1690" (*Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, I. 108), though not exactly a "narrative" would have thrown considerable light on the condition of affairs in 1690.

One of the most interesting narratives included is Pastorius's *Pennsylvania*, a tract now for the first time available in a complete English translation. The general editor is to be congratulated on his version, in the metre of the original, of Pastorius's "Letter to Tobias Schumberg" (p. 422). He has caught the spirit of the original with fidelity, and the rhyming is skilfully handled. The note relative to Philip Ford (p. 404) might have been profitably extended so as to give some account of Penn's injuries at the hands of Ford. The volume is a welcome addition to the series.

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

New Jersey as a Royal Province, from 1738 to 1776. By Edgar Jacob Fisher, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics,

and Public Law, vol. XLI.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1911, pp. 504.) This volume treats of the experience of New Jersey as a royal province, separate from New York. The writer describes in much detail the component parts of the government—governor, council, and assembly, with hastily-sketched estimates of some of the more prominent figures. A review follows of The Proprietary System and the Land Troubles, which were largely due to the prevalent spirit of unrest among the people, and their aspirations for freedom, coupled with exasperating questions of title to great tracts of land in several sections of the province. The Elizabethtown Purchase of December 1, 1664, did *not* embrace Newark and Bergen, as stated on page 176. The boundary dispute with New York, relative to the northern boundary of New Jersey, is detailed at much length, although the subject has been exhaustively presented in the volume of documents relating thereto, published by New York in 1884, and in the report thereon, issued by that state in the same year. In the chapter on The Judicial System, not enough prominence is given to the change in the term of judges from *quamdiu se benegesserint* to *durante bene placito*, which ultimately was set forth by the United Colonies as one of the grievances which moved them to their Declaration of Independence. The Financial System is well explained, and the activities of New Jersey in the colonial wars are duly set forth. The chapter on Religious and Social Conditions omits, curiously enough, any mention of the German Lutherans, who had numerous churches in Bergen, Hunterdon, Somerset, and Morris counties especially. It is remarked, moreover, that "Religious toleration was the natural result of the heterogeneous population of New Jersey" (p. 361), whereas, it was expressly provided for in the "Concessions and Agreements" of the Lords Proprietors of New Jersey, of February 10, 1664/5 (*N. J. Arch.*, first series, I. 30). New Jersey and Parliamentary Taxation is next discussed. The Overthrow of Royal Government is narrated in a chapter of remarkable power, lucid in style and stirring in diction, in which an excellent view is given of the character and conduct of William Franklin, the last of the royal governors, under most trying circumstances. The people of Cumberland County will consider unpardonable the failure to mention the burning of a cargo of imported tea at Greenwich on the night of December 22, 1774 (Elmer, *Hist. of Cumberland County*, p. 13, gives the date wrongly as November 22). By an unfortunate oversight (p. 371) it is stated that Parson James Caldwell was "murdered by the British at Connecticut Farms", whereas it was his wife who was the victim of that shocking affair (June 8, 1780), the parson himself being shot a year and a half later (November 24, 1781), by an American soldier, who was promptly convicted of murder, and hanged January 29, 1782.

WILLIAM NELSON.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1712-1714, 1715, 1718, 1720-1722, 1723-1726. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond,

1912, pp. lii, 441.) The sumptuous style of this publication has been spoken of in reviews of previous volumes. Now that Mr. McIlwaine has worked his way back into the period when the journals exist only in manuscript (in the British Public Record Office) he feels it necessary, in the effort to reproduce the manuscripts as exactly as possible, to make use of a number of special characters cast for the purpose, such as one representing the manuscript's symbol for the *-lemen* of *gentlemen*. Such Chinese fidelity the reviewer cannot approve. It is "a passed mode". If the manuscript had been put into type in 1712, the word *gentlemen* and the others would have been printed in a full and easily intelligible form. What is gained by not doing this now?

The volume covers ten sessions of five assemblies. To go back to the beginning of the separate existence of the House of Burgesses in 1680, some thirty sessions, will take three or four more volumes. Already we have got back to days when the house was a small body—only 51 members in 1712, two for each of 25 counties, and one for the "rotten borough" of Jamestown. In this small body there was a certain amount of small politics, a certain amount of manoeuvring against the governor, and in 1718 the burgesses began appointing a separate agent. But on the whole Spotswood, lieutenant-governor in the time of all these assemblies but the last, gave satisfaction, secured harmony, and gave the colony a Walpolian era of quiet and of economic development. Mr. McIlwaine suspects that his sudden recall in 1722 was due to the displeasure of the Lords Justices and the Board of Trade at the way in which he had allowed lands in the new county of Spotsylvania to be entered for patent.

Spotswood's letters, already published, cast much light on the history of the legislation of these sessions. It is a tribute to his skill in keeping good relations with the representatives of the colony that so much of that legislation was framed on his initiative. The most important acts were the tobacco act of 1713, which not only instituted an adequate inspection but operated to give permanent form to Virginia's currency and in general to determine the future of salaried officers and clergymen; and the act of 1723 which formed the basis of all future enactments on the trial of slaves.

Mr. McIlwaine's introductions, tables of members, and indexes continue to be excellent.

Studies of the Niagara Frontier. By Frank H. Severance. [Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. XV.] (Buffalo, Buffalo Historical Society, 1911, pp. 437.) This volume contains fourteen papers or essays "destined primarily for members of the Buffalo Historical Society" of which the author has been the efficient secretary and editor of publications for the past ten years. The character of most of these may be sufficiently indicated by their titles: Early Literature of the Niagara Region; Nineteenth Century Visitors who wrote Books; The Niagara

Region in Fiction; a Dreamer at Niagara: Chateaubriand in America; The Niagara in Art; John Vanderlyn's Visit to Niagara in 1802; The Niagara in Science; Historical Associations of Buffalo; On the Niagara Frontier with Harriet Martineau; Narratives of Eighteenth Century Visitors to Niagara. Although the Niagara Region is particularly defined "as the whole mid-lake region through which the Niagara runs", in early days the objective of the traveller was invariably Niagara Falls and in reading these papers it will be found that Niagara is generally used to designate the cataract and little more. As a matter of fact for about thirty years (1782-1812), the scanty settlements in the neighborhood were mainly confined to the Canadian side of the river and in these Mr. Severance takes little interest. No printed source of any importance has escaped his attention and his numerous extracts have been made with commendable accuracy and good taste. But as these articles were in the first instance designed rather to be heard than read, the author has adopted "a certain familiarity of discourse which it is hoped will not lessen the value of what is offered". Much of the comment or connecting narrative is accordingly written in a mildly humorous tone well calculated to amuse a casual audience.

In the concluding paper the accounts of their visits to Niagara Falls by seventeen travellers during the eighteenth century, beginning with Hennepin and ending with Charles Williamson, have been reprinted, in several instances from rather rare volumes.

The book is well printed, well bound, and provided with a satisfactory index. The proof-reading has been well done and but one misprint of consequence has been noted. Dallion (pp. 10 and 429) should be Daillon.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

The Abolition Crusade and its Consequences: Four Periods of American History. By Hilary A. Herbert, LL.D., with a prefatory note by James Ford Rhodes. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912, pp. xiv, 249.) The author writes from a Southern view-point, but seeks nevertheless to present the facts fairly and to distribute praise and blame to either side in the controversy as seems meet. The four periods to which the title makes reference are: the anti-slavery crusade, 1831 to 1860; secession and war, 1861 to 1865; reconstruction, 1865 to 1876; and the restoration of self-government in the South. It is the first of these periods with which the author principally concerns himself, devoting three-fourths of the book to its consideration. In the opening chapter he discusses the doctrine of secession and the principal instances of disunion sentiment prior to the Civil War period, emphasizing the conclusion that the spirit of nationality was a growth, although a rapid growth after it had fairly begun. The greatest contributing cause of this growth, he believes, was Webster's speech in the Senate in reply to Hayne, January 26, 1830. In tracing the history of emancipation sentiment the author points out that sentiment and activity in favor of

emancipation prevailed widely in the South until the radical teachings of the Abolitionists caused a reactionary movement in defense of slavery. From the rise of the Abolitionist propaganda the struggle of opposing ideas is forcefully though compactly presented. The book is designed especially for the general reader and as a candid presentation of the most important facts as the author sees them should prove helpful toward an understanding of the anti-slavery movement.

Statesmen of the Old South or From Radicalism to Conservative Revolt. By William E. Dodd, Ph.D., Professor of American History, University of Chicago. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1911, pp. ix, 242.) This volume contains sketches of Thomas Jefferson, John C. Calhoun, and Jefferson Davis, the successive expounders of the doctrine of state sovereignty. Of this phase of Jeffersonian democracy the book is designed, as its subtitle indicates, to give a continuous history. While Calhoun and Davis both considered themselves as followers of Jefferson and expounders of his teachings, Professor Dodd does not believe that Jefferson, with his insistence on human as against property rights, would ever have acknowledged as his political offspring men who employed his particularist doctrines in defense of slavery and protected interests. For he holds that Jefferson's party, like most parties which remain long in power, was gradually transformed from a body of militant reformers into a party of conservatives or "stand-patters", from "an organization of small farmers and backwoods men, idealists in governmental theory", into an organization which was dominated by cotton and slavery, the protected interests of that day.

With the author's economic interpretation of history we are in general accord. We believe that sectionalism was based on fundamental economic differences rather than on political theories or moral issues. When the South was divorced from political alliance with the West and found itself in the minority on questions which were deemed vital to its welfare, it did what every other section which has been compelled to act on the defensive has done: it intrenched itself behind the doctrine of states' rights. As Professor Dodd shows, Calhoun and Davis were both nationalists as long as the interests of their section permitted it, but they were nationalists, "who, like most, if not all, other leaders in American public life, demanded first protection to [their] constituents". As Calhoun forced the Union to terms in 1833, so Davis, who was opposed to secession in 1860, hoped to the last to effect a compromise that would be permanent and satisfactory to the South.

Professor Dodd likes to interpret the past in terms of present-day conditions, and he has a tendency to apply to men and measures the tests of his own radical democracy. Some of his generalizations in this connection are rather sweeping, not to say startling. For instance: "The only essential difference", he says, "between the magnates who exploit

the resources of the country and rule the Senate in 1911 and their predecessors of 1861 is the lack of a general belief in a doctrine of states rights which would justify secession". Again, he is taking great liberty with Thomas Jefferson to assert that, were he still with us, he would uphold "the democracy of Lincoln as against slavery, of Bryan as against Wall street, of the West as against the East. Jefferson would have been a populist in 1892 or an insurgent in 1910"!

While this book appears to be a by-product of the author's well-known life of Jefferson Davis, it gives more complete expression to some of the views advanced in that volume and strengthens many of the conclusions there stated. The style is clear, forceful, and interesting. There is not a dull paragraph in the entire volume. We hope that Professor Dodd will continue his work in a field which gives scope for his talents and promises such rich results.

Jefferson's income from his law practice should be \$3,000 and not £3,000 as stated (p. 10), and the references to the Panama Canal project (p. 205 and elsewhere) should be to the Central American Canal.

JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ.

The Civil War Literature of Ohio: a Bibliography, with Explanatory and Historical Notes. By Daniel J. Ryan. (Cleveland, Ohio, The Burrows Brothers Company, 1911, pp. ix, 518.) As the author indicates, this is vastly more than a bibliography. It is, in part, a list of references to books and pamphlets by Ohio writers or by others writing in relation to Ohio; in part, a biography of these writers; in part, a history of the war. The eight hundred and ninety-nine references, on four hundred and sixty-nine pages, do not attempt to exhaust the subject. Most of the pieces referred to (620), are in the author's library. In the preface the author classifies the books and pamphlets as Official Documents; Army Organizations; Speeches, Addresses, and Sermons; Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion; Grand Army of the Republic; Military History; Miscellaneous. The references, however, are not given under these classifications, but in alphabetical order. The arrangement is not always good. The "Fighting McCooks" is found under "Brief". Each reference has been carefully examined and usually has an analysis and the author's comments. In some cases, long quotations follow. On pages 437-438, a five-stanza poem is quoted. The real service rendered is the reference to the pamphlet literature. The speeches of various members of Congress from Ohio are limited to those which exist in pamphlet form. The *Congressional Globe* might have furnished more material. No mention is made of the writings of James Ford Rhodes, an Ohio man. On page 375, commenting on J. W. Schuckers's *Life of Salmon P. Chase*, the author says, "Of the several lives of Salmon P. Chase, this is the best." He makes no reference to the *Life of Chase* by Albert Bushnell Hart, who was for years a citizen of Ohio. The comments are sometimes rather broad. There are frequent uses of the

superlative. In controversies the author is biased. Page 461, Worthington's book, opposing Grant and Sherman, "is of no value from a historical standpoint". Page 74, he omits Illinois in naming the states that by convention ratified the Corwin Amendment. Page 15, Lincoln signed the act referred to on April 16. An index of 47 pages, makes a serviceable volume of one that would otherwise be difficult to use.

THOMAS N. HOOVER.

The Kentucky Mountains: Transportation and Commerce, 1750 to 1911: a Study in the Economic History of a Coal Field. By Mary Verhoeff. Volume I. [Filson Club Publications, no. 26.] (Louisville, John P. Morton and Company, 1911, pp. xiii, 208.) Miss Verhoeff's work would in any event be a welcome addition to our knowledge of an interesting region, but it has an especial value at this time when the Kentucky mountains are attracting attention because of their importance as a great coal field. The geographic factor is always of importance in determining the lines of commerce, and in eastern Kentucky the mountains have constituted an unusually severe limitation upon transportation and the development of commerce. The author therefore begins this study with an examination of the physiographic, topographic, and geologic conditions which are of fundamental importance, including a brief investigation into the demotic composition of the inhabitants of the region and a presentation of the economic problems which have confronted them. A chapter (some twenty pages) is devoted to an account of the trails made by the early hunters and explorers, 1750-1775, or by the buffaloes and Indians before them, and followed by the pioneers. The first step toward the improvement of the roads, or rather the conversion of the trails into wagon roads, was made by the Transylvania Company in 1775, and after that by the state of Virginia until the separation of Kentucky in 1792. The lack of good connecting roads was indeed a determining factor in that separation. Road development was thereafter desultory until 1834, when under the influence of the wave of internal improvements the state of Kentucky undertook large projects in road-building, which, however, fell to the ground when the panic of 1837 came on. By 1850 practically the entire business of road-building had been turned over to the several counties, but the heavy cost of construction, practically prohibitive for communities with small resources, was a bar to any substantial advance. The history of road-building has been traced by the author largely through legislative enactments, but materials from a great variety of other sources have been added, largely in foot-notes, which all but equal the text proper in quantity. What was actually done toward carrying out the provisions of the laws is not always so clearly set forth. What the author may purpose to include in a second volume, which seems to be promised, we are not told; but a real desideratum is a larger investigation into the actual life and conduct of commerce. This phase of the subject is not alto-

gether neglected but is treated in a manner rather incidental to the study of the construction of lines of travel and transportation. One interesting phase of water transportation in particular, the floating of logs loose or in rafts out of the remote mountains, ought, because of its importance in the lumber business of Kentucky, not to speak of the picturesqueness of its methods, to receive in a history of transportation in the Kentucky mountains more than a passing notice. The volume contains several useful maps such as a section of the Pownal-Evans map showing the "Warrior's Path", 1735-1775, and Imlay's map of Kentucky, 1793, but a real defect of the volume is the lack of one or more good modern maps, particularly one which would show clearly and accurately the mountain, river, and valley systems. There are also several excellent illustrations of characteristic mountain scenes. In typography and form the volume possesses the usual attractiveness of the Filson Club publications.

The Pathbreakers from River to Ocean: the Story of the Great West from the Time of Coronado to the Present. By Grace Raymond Hebard, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy, State University of Wyoming. (Chicago, The Lakeside Press, 1911, pp. x, 263.) While many books have been written about the explorers of the East, "the West, or that land situated between the Mississippi and the western coast, has not received its due attention in school book form". This is the author's justification for this book, and a partial explanation of its title. In further explanation, it should be said that under "pathbreakers" are included not merely the first explorers and fur-traders but missionaries, miners, soldiers, "cows and cowboys", and even railroads.

Miss Hebard realizes that "the wonderful story is too long to appear between the covers of any one book", but she has persisted in the hope that new interest in the subject may be awakened. The result is a somewhat miscellaneous collection of short descriptive articles on the subjects indicated, with many good illustrations and a few confusing maps. Single facts are accurately stated, but some of the accounts are so condensed as to be almost misleading. The presentation is irregular, and sometimes it is far from clear. Consequently the impressions left from reading the book as a whole are apt to be confused. The style is not easy, and occasionally lapses into unfortunate expressions, as where the Astor land party in 1811 "found Daniel Boone, still squatting on the farthest frontier" (p. 52).

These things, in the opinion of the reviewer, will interfere with the success of the author's praiseworthy attempt. They may be offset by the convenience of having so much information in so small a compass, and by the good illustrations. A few references at the end of each chapter, and a brief index at the end of the volume, are useful.

MAX FARRAND.

The American Year Book: a Record of Events and Progress, 1911. Edited by Francis G. Wickware, B.A., B.Sc. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1912, pp. xx, 863.) Several changes in the interest of simplicity are noted in the present *Year Book* when compared with the initial volume of 1910. Analysis of topics has been worked over, some new subjects have been introduced, a few dropped out, and others combined in a new arrangement. The scope of the work remains as originally planned. Mr. S. N. D. North, who edited the first volume, has been succeeded by Mr. Francis G. Wickware. The department of Comparative Statistics now has an added section on Problems of Population; Functions of Government and Government and Administration have been merged under the single head of Government; History is now treated under two heads, American and Foreign; Public Works and National Defense is a new department formerly included under Functions of Government. There is also a new section with the title Public Service. It is written by Richard Compton Harrison, assistant counsel to the Public Service Commission of the First District of New York, save only the pages on State Taxation of Corporations, which Professor Seligman has contributed. Here is summarized the progress of municipal ownership, the experience of various city commissions, and the public service laws of New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, New Hampshire, Nevada, Washington, Ohio, and Kansas. Professor W. F. Willcox of Cornell presents under the head of Problems of Population analyses of the recent census, showing the increased density, geographical and racial distribution of the population, and a statement of conditions of immigration and naturalization. More than forty pages of this year's book is given over to such municipal problems as the framing of new city charters, previous investigations, the work of municipal research bureaus, the city plan of housing, fire prevention, smoke and bill-board nuisances, and municipal accounting. This is all under the one section devoted to Municipal Government.

The usefulness of the present volume in its present form will be quickly apparent to any one seeking condensed information of the latest developments in the larger fields of human endeavor. In a prefatory note the editors say that the association of learned societies which is behind the *Year Book* expects to improve it from year to year, and therefore welcomes criticism from any source either upon the selection of material or the method of treatment, or on the formal side of the typographical make-up and provisions for users. The object in view being simply that the great fields of learning shall be adequately represented by persons who are known by the national societies to be interested in and competent to have a share in such a work, it is explicitly asserted that these societies as such have no official part and take no official responsibility.

COMMUNICATION

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1912.

TO THE BOARD OF EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW,
Gentlemen:

Will you kindly permit us, in the interest of historical accuracy, to correct certain statements contained in the review of our memoir on the *Omaha Tribe* in the *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, which appeared in the April number of your periodical.

The reviewer cites Mr. J. Owen Dorsey, the author of *Omaha Sociology* which appeared in the *Third Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, as an authority on Omaha history and customs. As Mr. Dorsey is no longer living, the writers wished to avoid any controversy concerning his account of the tribe, although they were aware that his work contained numerous inaccuracies. Mr. Dorsey's mistakes arose, not only from his imperfect knowledge of the language but also from his inability to distinguish between information honestly given him by serious-minded persons and misleading information given in jest by mischief-loving individuals. His mistakes have been corrected without drawing specific attention to any of them in the *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, but the misstatements made in your review of that report make it necessary to break silence.

Mr. Dorsey, whom the reviewer quotes, in his *Omaha Sociology* (*Third Rep.*, p. 255) gives what purports to be the genealogy of Joseph LaFlesche and makes him out to be a Ponca. The genealogy that Mr. Dorsey gives is not that of Joseph LaFlesche, but of his half-brother Frank, whose mother was a Ponca. Joseph and Frank had the same father but different mothers. Joseph's mother was an Omaha and belonged to the Inkéçabe gens; she was the full sister of the father of Tahézhinga who died recently; his sons are still living and known to be members of that gens and blood cousins of the children of Joseph LaFlesche. No''-çò^a-da-zhi, a full Omaha and a half-brother of LaFlesche, both having had the same mother, still lives; a full sister of the former and a half-sister of the latter, named Eshno''-mo^a-he, died recently. These facts in no way bear out the statement of Mr. Dorsey. Moreover, when the writers told LaFlesche that Mr. Dorsey had made this statement, he laughed and said, "That is impossible!" The story of the early life of Joseph LaFlesche was well known to the writers, but the reference

to Wa-jé-pa (*Twenty-Seventh Rep.*, p. 631) was given because he was a near relative and known to the tribe as a man of strict probity and versed in his family history.

The reviewer says, "Our authors, moreover, permit the reader to get the impression that Joseph LaFlesche was the legitimate successor of Big Elk." The facts briefly told are: Big Elk, as he lay dying, requested LaFlesche, in the presence of other chiefs, to take care of his son, then a lad, and to see that he succeeded his father when he became of age, failing which Joseph himself was to be the successor. He took the lad into his own family and sent him to the mission school, where he died. LaFlesche was then, in accordance with the wish of Big Elk, recognized as his successor. There is no ground for the statement made as to "attempted usurpation of the Omaha chieftainship". The deposition referred to was omitted because it was of personal rather than tribal significance and was brought about by a disappointed Indian agent. The reviewer states that the authors "admit that his [Joseph LaFlesche's] installation was incomplete", but fails to point out where this admission is made. Possibly he had in mind the story given by Mr. Dorsey and credited to Frank LaFlesche (*Third Rep.*, p. 224), which is an example of Mr. Dorsey's numerous mistakes due to the lack of a clear understanding of the Omaha language which he persistently used while carrying on his inquiries. The story was about the accidental dropping of one of the bowls of the two tribal pipes at an initiation. It did not happen at the installation of LaFlesche; he was already a chief. This initiation was a step toward higher rank in chieftainship, and the ritual of the sacred tribal pipes had to be recited, at which time only the initiated could be present. During the recital Mo'-hi'-qi dropped the bowl of one of the sacred pipes accidentally. This meant death to the person being initiated and necessitated the discontinuance of the ceremony. Big Elk, who was present, became silent and showed much displeasure. Seeing this, Mo'-hi'-qi said to LaFlesche, "My son, this was an accident; whatever must follow I will take it upon myself." In the autumn of that year Mo'-hi'-qi died. This story was more than once repeated to the writers when they were seeking to obtain knowledge concerning the ritual pertaining to the tribal sacred pipes.

It is true that the authors have not used Two Crows as an authority on the rites of the sacred pole; the reason for this is that Two Crows was a layman and not sufficiently versed in the rites of his gens. The account published was obtained from the last keeper of the sacred pole. This ancient object was secured from its keeper by the authors and is now in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

ALICE C. FLETCHER.
FRANCIS LAFLESCHÉ.

NOTES AND NEWS

We are glad to announce that Professor James Harvey Robinson, now in Europe, has accepted his election as a member of the Board of Editors of this review, to fill out the remainder of the term of Professor William M. Sloane, whose resignation was noted with regret in our last issue.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is important to note that on July 1 the secretary's office will be transferred from 500 Bond Building to 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. During the summer, however, from June 25 to September 25, his address will be Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The *Annual Report* for 1910 in one volume will be distributed during the summer. The *Annual Report* for 1911 will be in two volumes, the second of which will consist of the Toombs-Stevens-Cobb correspondence, edited by Professor U. B. Phillips for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

It is probable that the essay by David S. Muzzey on *The Spiritual Franciscans*, awarded the Adams prize in 1906, which was published in a small separate edition, will be reprinted. In order to determine what demand there may be for the proposed reprint, members who desire it are asked so to inform the secretary. The price, to members, will be 75 cents.

The ninth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch was held at Leland Stanford Junior University on April 5 and 6. At the first general session papers were read by Professor Henry L. Cannon on Royal Finances in the Time of Henry III. (to be printed in the *Annual Report* for 1912), by Professor William A. Morris, on the Norman Sheriff and the Local English Courts, and by Professor L. J. Paetow on Robert Grosseteste and the Intellectual Revival in the Thirteenth Century. At the dinner on Friday evening addresses were made by Professor Rockwell D. Hunt and Judge John E. Richards. At the second general session there were papers by Professor Robert C. Clark on the Canadian Settlers' Opposition to the Organization of a Government in Oregon, 1841-1844, and by Professor E. I. Miller on the Virginia Committee of Correspondence from 1759 to 1770. A teachers' session was devoted to the subject of economics in the high school.

At the business meeting it was voted to continue the Committee on Archives for a period of five years and to instruct it to endeavor to

secure the publication of a comprehensive calendar of the archives of the Pacific Coast, and to take steps to insure the preservation and accessibility of the archives deposited in the California State Library. It was also voted to recommend for consideration by the American Historical Association the project submitted by Professor Cannon for publishing the Pipe Rolls and related manuscripts of the reign of Henry III., and to endeavor to secure a meeting of the Association in San Francisco during the Panama-Pacific Exposition. The following officers were elected: president, Arley B. Show, Stanford University; vice-president, William G. Roylance, University of Utah; secretary and treasurer, H. W. Edwards, Oakland High School; members of the council, in addition to the officers, Wilberforce Bliss, State Normal School, San Diego; Louis J. Paetow, University of California; Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon; Jeanne E. Wier, University of Nevada.

PERSONAL

Gabriel Monod, editor of the *Revue Historique*, died at his home in Versailles on April 10, at the age of sixty-eight. By his death the historical profession has lost one of its most eminent members, one who, as teacher, writer, and editor, has exercised a most important influence upon the development of historical scholarship, not only in France but throughout the world, during the last half-century. Born in 1844 at Havre, of Protestant stock, he was graduated from the École Normale Supérieure as *premier agrégé d'histoire* in 1865. After three years spent in Italy and in German universities, he was put in charge of the seminar of the sources of French history in the École Pratique des Hautes Études, which had just been established by Duruy in an effort to introduce into French higher education the methods of the German seminar. He remained in the École Pratique, as *directeur des études*, and later as president, until 1905. In 1880 he was appointed *maître des conférences* in the École Normale Supérieure, a position which he held until 1902. Upon his retirement in 1905 he was elected to the newly created chair of general history and historical method at the Collège de France, where he lectured until 1910. As a teacher, Monod was one whose pupils became his disciples, and his sound scholarship, his power of brilliant but cautious generalization, his enthusiasm, and the uncommon charm of his personality made of his seminar at the Hautes Études a centre to which students flocked from the Sorbonne, the École des Chartes, and the École Normale. No less important was Monod's work at the École Normale, where his special interest in the pedagogical aspects of history and the organization of historical studies imbued his lectures with a vitality and authority which caused them to have a profound influence upon the future teaching of history in France. Aside from teaching he performed important public service as a member of the Comité des Travaux Historiques, of the Commission Générale des Archives, and of the Commission des Archives Diplomatiques. All of

these occupations, and many others, left him but small time for writing, and it is not surprising that he should not have produced any single work of magnitude. The list of his writings is not a short one but it is by no means the measure of his work and influence. The *Études Critiques* on the sources of Merovingian and Carolingian history appeared, from 1872, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*. His standard *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France* (1888) supplied French scholarship with a tool comparable to the work of Dahlmann-Waitz. His interest in method and historiography is shown in *Les Maîtres de l'Histoire: Renan, Taine, Michelet* (1894), *Jules Michelet, Études sur sa Vie et ses Oeuvres* (1905), *De la Méthode dans les Sciences* (1909), and in numerous articles. Shortly before his death he translated Boehmer's history of the Jesuits, supplementing it with a study of his own which displayed to the full the strict impartiality of his mind. His chief literary monument however is the *Revue Historique*, which, with Gustave Fagniez, he founded in 1875, and to which he gave himself with the unselfish enthusiasm of the true editor. From its establishment the *Revue Historique* has been the natural centre of French historical scholarship, and has set a standard which has generally been accepted as measurably near the ideal of the historical journal.

William B. Weeden of Providence died in that city on March 28, at the age of seventy-seven. He served with distinction in the Civil War and was for fifty years engaged in the manufacture of woolen fabrics. With much fullness of practical knowledge and a strikingly original mind he took up the study of varied subjects in political economy and history. His most notable work was his *Economic and Social History of New England* (1890), followed sixteen years later by an instructive study of the work of the "War Governors"—*War Government, Federal and State* (1906). He also published a volume on *Early Rhode Island* (1910). Mr. Weeden was a man of alert and varied intelligence and of most genial character.

Professor Henry W. Haynes, a distinguished archaeologist, and corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, died on February 16 at the age of eighty. For nearly forty years he had been devoted to archaeological researches in the United States, Egypt, and Europe.

Dr. George E. Woodbine has been promoted to an assistant professorship of history in Yale University.

Professor Fred Morrow Fling of the University of Nebraska is to deliver during the coming autumn term a course of twelve lectures on the French Revolution, in Yale University.

Miss Bertha Haven Putnam has leave of absence from Mount Holyoke College during the academic year 1912-1913, and will continue the study of English medieval labor legislation along the lines marked by her book already published.

Professors John S. Bassett of Smith College, Edward B. Krehbiel of Leland Stanford University, and Henry A. Sill of Cornell University are to teach this summer at Columbia University.

Mr. Harold D. Hazeltine of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, is to lecture on the history of English law at Columbia University during the coming academic year.

Professor E. B. Greene of the University of Illinois is on leave for the year commencing February, 1912.

Dr. Marcus W. Jernegan and Dr. Conyers Read have been made assistant professors in the University of Chicago.

At the University of Wisconsin Dr. A. C. Smith has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor. Professor W. L. Westermann will be absent on leave during the first half of the coming year.

Professor Willis M. West of the University of Minnesota has retired from his professorship. Professors Dana C. Munro of the University of Wisconsin and Edgar E. Robinson of Leland Stanford are teaching at the University of Minnesota during the summer session.

Professor C. H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan will lecture at the summer school of the University of California.

At Leland Stanford Junior University, Associate Professor E. B. Krehbiel has been advanced to a professorship of modern European history, Assistant Professor Henry L. Cannon to an associate professorship of English history, and Mr. Percy A. Martin to an assistant professorship in history. Associate Professor Payson J. Treat will be on leave of absence for the first half of the academic year and will travel in the Far East.

Mr. David W. Parker has been appointed to a position as an assistant archivist in the archives of the Dominion of Canada.

GENERAL

It is announced that the International Historical Congress to be held in London in 1913, mention of which has already been made in these pages, will meet on April 3-9.

The Fourteenth International Congress for prehistoric anthropology and archaeology, planned originally to meet in Dublin, 1910, will assemble at Geneva during the first week in September, 1912. Among the subjects of interest to historical students proposed for discussion may be noted: the remains of prehistoric races in Africa, Asia, and America; the Mediterranean relations between Africa and Europe in prehistoric times; the relations between Italy and that part of Europe north of the Alps in prehistoric times; the commercial routes by which various industrial products of Hellenic origin found their way into central Europe

and Eastern Gaul during the epochs of Hallstatt and La Tène and the eastern geographical limits of the civilization of La Tène. The general secretary of the congress is Waldemar Deorma, 16 Boulevard des Tranchées, Geneva.

Progress of Nations: an Account of the Progress of Civilization, in eight volumes, edited by C. H. Sylvester and others, has been published in Chicago by the National Progress League. Volumes VI.-VIII. are devoted to the history of the United States.

Professor Theodor Lindner has issued a third revised edition of the volume entitled *Geschichtsphilosophie* with which in 1901 he began his *Weltgeschichte*. This introduction was thoroughly reworked for the second edition in 1904, and considerable further changes have now been made (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1912, pp. 220).

The address of Dr. Andrew S. Draper, commissioner of education of the state of New York, delivered before the history teachers' section of the New York State Teachers' Association in November, 1911, is printed in the April number of *The History Teacher's Magazine*. It bears the caption No Mummified History in New York Schools. In the same issue is a group of interesting letters from a soldier in the Mexican War. They were written by Charles A. Vieregg between December, 1846, and November, 1847. To the May issue Professor George L. Burr contributes an interesting and valuable paper entitled History as a Teacher and the Teacher of History, and Professor Charles M. Andrews one on the Value of London Topography for American Colonial History. The June number contains a useful article on Historical Maps and their Making, by Professor William R. Shepherd; an account of the introductory courses of history at the University of Texas, by Dr. A. C. Krey, and a discussion of historical examinations in the secondary schools, by Professor J. M. Gambrill. Especial attention is paid in this number to the various history teachers' associations. A history and description of each is given, and a list of its members. It is appropriate to mention here that, under the arrangement made with the *Magazine* by the American Historical Association, members of these teachers' associations can obtain the *Magazine* for one dollar per annum, half the ordinary price of subscription.

The latest issues in Below, Finke, and Meinecke's *Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neueren Geschichte* are Dr. Ludwig Kläpfel's *Die äussere Politik Alfonsos III. v. Aragonen, 1285-1291*, Dr. Franz Beck's *Studien zu Lionardo Bruni*, and Dr. H. Becker's *Achim v. Arnim in den Wissenschaftlichen und Politischen Strömungen seiner Zeit*.

The historical seminar of the Catholic University of Louvain publishes its *Rapport sur les Travaux pendant l'Année Académique 1910-1911*. This contains summaries of the researches carried on during the year and a "Bibliographie pour l'Étude des Sacramentaires", by Father

Vykoukal. Among the investigations summarized may be mentioned those of Abbé A. Legrand on "Jansénisme en Belgique jusqu'en 1654", of Abbé E. Broeckx on "Manichéisme en Occident aux premiers Siècles de notre Ère", and especially of Father R. Lechat on "Les Catholiques Anglais Réfugiés aux Pays-Bas pendant le Règne d'Élisabeth".

Professor James Harvey Robinson has printed *An Outline of the History of the Intellectual Class in Western Europe* (New York, 1911). It "is designed first and foremost to be used in connection with the course of lectures offered in this field to graduate and advanced undergraduate students in the School of Political Science of Columbia University". This outline is the forerunner of a larger work which Professor Robinson promises us for the near future.

All Americanists will note with interest the publication of a little brochure by Henry Vignaud, *Henry Harrisse, Étude Biographique et Morale avec la Bibliographie Critique de ses Écrits* (Paris, Chadenat, 1912). No other than M. Vignaud could have supplied this view of that curious character, who spent the last years of his life in voluntary seclusion after having alienated all of his friends, one after another. Of especial value in this pamphlet are the copious critical and explanatory notes in the bibliographical part.

The Library of Congress has been enriched on the side of Jewish history and literature by the acquisition, through gift by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, of a notable collection of Hebraica, made by Ephraim Deinard of Arlington, New Jersey, and comprising more than 10,000 titles.

The nineteenth and twentieth fascicles of Lamprecht's *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte* are, respectively: *Friedrich Nietzsches Geschichtsauffassung, ihre Entstehung und ihr Wandel in Kulturgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, by Walter Hegemeister, and *Ueber die Möglichkeit und den Ertrag einer genetischen Geschichtschreibung im Sinne Karl Lamprechts*, by Erich Rothacker.

The collection of over 7000 pieces brought together by Élisée Reclus in the compilation of his work will form, at the University of Geneva, the chief element in a new and unique Museum of Cartography.

A new edition of Dr. Bresslau's standard *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, is announced by Veit of Leipzig. The first volume is now on sale.

Professor Wilhelm Bahnson has published Band I. of a work entitled *Stamm- und Regenten-Tafeln zur Politischen Geschichte*, which is intended to be comprehensive and will probably extend to four volumes (Berlin, Voss., 1912). The whole historical world will be included and Band I. is occupied almost wholly with non-European tables. Bände II. and III. will be devoted to non-Germanic Europe, Band IV. to German lands.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Walther, *Geldwert in der Geschichte* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, X. 1, 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Ancient historiography is thoroughly discussed in respect to its most essential characteristics in Dr. Hermann Peter's *Wahrheit und Kunst: Geschichtschreibung und Plagiat im Klassischen Altertum*.

Professor W. S. Davis of the University of Minnesota published in May, through Allyn and Bacon, a two-volume compilation of *Readings in Ancient History*, for the use of secondary schools. The work consists of copious extracts, in translation, from the ancient authors, with introductions, notes, etc. The first volume is devoted to Greece and the Orient, the second to Rome to 800 A. D.

Messrs. Loescher of Turin have published a work by Egidio Gorra entitled *Testi inediti di Storia Trojana, preceduti da uno Studio sulla Leggenda Trojana in Italia*.

From the Cambridge University Press comes *Prehistoric Thessaly*, by A. J. B. Wace, fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and M. S. Thompson, Craven fellow in the University of Oxford. The volume collects the results of recent excavations in northeastern Greece.

Professor R. von Pöhlmann's *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt* has appeared in a second revised and enlarged edition in two volumes (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1912, pp. xv, 610; xii, 644).

Teil III. of A. Gercke and E. Norden's *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* deals with the history and public antiquities of Greece and Rome, and is the work of various authors (Leipzig and Berlin, Teubner, 1912, pp. 428).

The Institut Nobel of Christiania announces the publication of a series bearing the title *Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien*. The first of these, May, 1912, is by A. Raeder, *L'Arbitrage International chez les Hellènes*. Based on the study of the published inscriptions, it presents a complete survey of the resort to international arbitration in ancient Greece. G. P. Putnam's Sons are the American publishers of the series.

B. G. Teubner of Leipzig has announced the publication in two volumes of *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, by L. Mitteis and U. Wilckens. The first volume, by Wilckens, is historical, the second, by Mitteis, juridical, and each volume comprises two sections as indicated by the title.

A committee of the friends and admirers of Professor Ettore Pais will mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of his entrance upon his work of

university instruction by the issue, through Ermanno Loescher and Company, in four volumes, of a new work by him, *Storia Critica di Roma durante i Primi Cinque Secoli*. It will differ from his *Storia d'Italia* (1894-1899) in not being simply a critique of the existing traditions, but a constructive work upon the whole political, juridical, and social life of early Rome and the peoples conquered by her.

Students of the history of religion will find much of value in W. Warde Fowler's *The Religious Experiences of the Roman People from the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus* (Macmillan), while students of Roman political institutions cannot fail to be interested in the light thrown upon the political importance of the religious regulations.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Oldenberg, *Zwei Aufsätze zur Altindischen Chronologie und Literaturgeschichte* (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft zu Göttingen); H. Swoboda, *Studien zu den Griechischen Bündeln* (Klio, XII. 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The second volume of the English translation of Hartmann Grisar's *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages*, published by Kegan Paul, carries the history of the popes to the fall of the empire, more exactly, to the capture of Rome by Totila in 549.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Mr. John Murray announces *The Dark Ages, 300-1000 A. D.*, by C. R. L. Fletcher, sometime fellow of All Souls and Magdalen colleges, Oxford, as the first volume in *The Making of Western Europe* series.

The promoters of the series *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* have undertaken also a collection entitled *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens*, intended especially for the publication of original materials and for bibliographical studies. The editor will be Father Ildefonse Herwegen of the abbey of Maria-Laach.

In commemoration of the seventh centenary of the Poor Clares, Father Paschal Robinson, O. F. M., has printed (Philadelphia, The Dolphin Press) a valuable brochure of thirty-two pages entitled *The Rule of St. Clare and its Observance in the Light of Early Documents*.

M. Georges Hardy, under the heading "Une Source délaissée: les Fonds d'Officialités", supplies to the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* for December, 1911, a note of much interest calling attention to the value of this large and but slightly used class of material for modern as well as for medieval investigations.

Messrs. Picard, of Paris, will publish a *Cartulaire de l'Ordre Général du Temple, de l'Origine à 1150*, edited by the Marquis d'Albon. The edition will be limited to 150 copies, sold at 50 francs.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Poncelet, *Boémond et S. Léonard* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXXI. 1); Maurice F. Egan, *Everybody's St. Francis*, I., II. (Century, May, June); Fr. Paschal Robinson, O. F. M., *The Personality of St. Clare* (Catholic University Bulletin, June); K. Schaube, *Noch einmal zur Bedeutung von Hansa* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XV. 2).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A fourth revised and enlarged edition has been published of Dr. Max Schellings's *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, intended for upper secondary schools (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. xvi, 575). R. Voigtländer of Leipzig has begun the publication of *Voigtländer's Quellenbücher*, intended to provide the general public or special user with annotated groups of selections from the sources in small volumes at low cost. Most of the topics so far dealt with are in the field of German history. The latest issues in Schwann's *Sammlung geschichtlicher Quellen-schriften für den Unterricht* are nos. 7, 8, and 9, comprising in German annotated translations the *Germania* of Tacitus, Einhard's *Charles the Great*, and the *Golden Bull*.

Rome au Temps de Jules II. et de Léon X. by Emanuel Rodocanachi (Paris, Hachette) draws much of its material from unpublished documents in state and Vatican archives and from rare contemporary pamphlets. While the text is limited to a statement of facts the footnote references are a source of the greatest value to any student of the Roman Reformation.

Lettres du Baron de Castelnau, 1728-1793, edited with notes by Baron de Blay de Gaix, and with a preface by M. Arthur Chuquet (Paris, H. Champion), a collection of the letters of an officer of carabineers in the Seven Years' War, comments frankly on men and events.

Mrs. Aubrey Le Bond has, in *Charlotte Sophie, Countess Bentinck: her Life and Times, 1715-1800* (Hutchinson), added another volume to the numerous lives of women of greater or less historic fame. The subject of this biography, the material for which was drawn largely from letters exchanged between the Countess Bentinck and her English grandson, was a friend of Maria Theresa, Frederick the Great, and Voltaire.

Frederic M. Kircheisen's *Bibliographie des Napoleonischen Zeitalters*, of which volume I. was published by Mittler (Berlin, 1908), appears now in its second installment (vol. II., pt. 1., Paris, Geneva, London, 1912, pp. 208) in a French dress, though with the headings still given tri-lingually. No explanation is given of this change; that there has been a real change of base seems indicated however by the statement of the preface: "Pour le moment je ne puis pas songer à la publication de ma grande bibliographie napoléonienne." Volume I. had comprised three sections of the work: I. Histoire Générale, 1795-1815; II. Histoire

des États, 1796-1815; III. Guerres, 1796-1815. The present volume contains part IV., Napoléon et sa Famille, and the first part of part V., Mémoires, Correspondances, Biographies. The work is marked by the characteristics of the first volume; while bearing witness to great industry, and while it will necessarily be of great utility, it can scarcely be regarded as likely to be of more than provisional standing. The "Notice préliminaire" has a very halting tone, and might well awaken doubts as to the future of the undertaking; doubts that will not be diminished by the announcement of M. Kircheisen's projected great *Life of Napoleon*.

The prefaces to the third and fourth editions of Chamberlain's *Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* have been published separately with the title *Wehr und Gegenwehr* (Munich, Bouckmann, 1912, pp. 108). The object of the publication is controversial.

In a volume which he calls *Kleine Historische Schriften* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1911), Professor Max Lenz has collected those of his historical essays which he considers the most popular. The essays on Napoleon I. and Prussia, and on the German revolution of 1848 will probably be of the greatest interest to other than German readers.

A new contribution to an ever active controversy is Dr. Siegfried Brase's *Émile Ollivier's Memoiren und die Entstehung der Kriege von 1870*. It forms Heft 98 of E. Ebering's *Historische Studien* (Berlin, E. Ebering, 1912, pp. viii, 243).

Modern Tariff History: Germany, France, and the United States, by Percy Ashley, has been published by E. P. Dutton and Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Constant, *Le Mariage de Marie Tudor et de Philippe II.* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXVI. 2); K. Schellhass, *Deutsche und Kuriale Gelehrte im Dienste der Gegenreformation, 1572-1585* (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XIV. 2); Ph. Hildebrandt, *Die Päpstliche Politik in der Preussischen und in der Jülich-Klevischen Frage* (*ibid.*); W. F. Reddaway, *Struensee and the Fall of Bernstorff* (English Historical Review, April); R. Fester, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hohenzollernschen Thronkandidatur in Spanien*, II. (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XV. 2); K. Dove, *Die Geographische Bedingungen der Heutigen Grossmachtstellung* (Zeitschrift für Politik, V. 2, 3).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, third series, volume V. (London, the Society, 1911, pp. 603), contains a valuable paper by Professor Firth on the Ballad History of the Reign of James I.; *Respublica Christiana*, by Rev. Dr. J. Neville Figgis; an account of the intrigues against Essex in Ireland, by Rev. Clement E. Pike; a body of notes on the Agincourt Roll, by Dr. J. H. Wylie; a study of medieval

forgeries relative to the possession of Cardigan Priory by Chertsey Abbey, by Mr. H. E. Malden; a study of the relations between England and Denmark, 1689-1697, by Miss M. Lane; and a brief paper on some aspects of early English apprenticeship, by Miss H. J. Dunlop. The society intends before long to publish a body of Essex Papers of 1675-1677 and the Journal of the Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1722-1746.

The Selden Society has issued, as its twenty-seventh volume, vol. II. of the *Year-Books of the Eyre of Kent* in 6 and 7 Edward II., ed. W. C. Bolland; and hopes to publish this year an additional volume on the charters of trading companies, ed. C. T. Carr. The sixth volume of the *Year-Book* series, containing reports of 4 Edward II., and edited by G. J. Turner, will also be ready for distribution in a short time. Professor Morgan has undertaken to edit the material for the second volume of *Select Cases in the Law Merchant*, collected by the late Professor Charles Gross. Among other publications which are being arranged for, are the following: another volume of the *Year-Books of the Eyre of Kent*, to be edited by Mr. Bolland, volumes of the *Year-Books of Edward II.*, a volume of *Select Cases before the King's Council*, by I. S. Leadam, a volume of *Select Ecclesiastical Pleas*, by Harold D. Hazeltine, and an edition of the *Liber Pauperum* of Vacarius, by F. de Zulueta.

Under the general editorship of Messrs. S. C. Winbolt and Kenneth Bell, Messrs. Bell and Sons will shortly issue a series of English history source-books, covering the ground of English history from Roman Britain to 1887 in some eighteen volumes published at a shilling each.

In *England's Industrial Development: an Historical Survey of Commerce and Industry* (Rivington) Arthur D. Innes presents a large collection of data in an orderly and unbiased way.

Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen vom Kontinent nach Irland? by the late Professor Heinrich Zimmern (Berlin, Königliche Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften) is a monograph written to disprove the theory of Professor Rhys that the Goidelic Celts reached Ireland by way of Britain, leaving settlements in Cornwall.

Christianity in Early Britain (Oxford, Clarendon Press), by the late Hugh Williams, professor of church history in the Theological College of Bala, treats the church from the historian's standpoint. The lectures contained in the volume deal not only with the movements of the church in Britain but also with all those in which any British bishop or monk was concerned.

Volume II. of the Rev. Alfred Plummer's *The Churches in Britain before A. D. 1000* completes his history of early British Christianity. This volume contains an index to the entire work and a full chronological table.

In the series entitled *Antiquary's Books* Ernest A. Savage has recently published a volume on *Old English Libraries: the Making, Collection and Use of Books during the Middle Ages* (London, 1911). The period dealt with closes with the dispersion of the monastic libraries at the Reformation. Important lists of books are given in appendixes.

Messrs. Macmillan announce for early publication *Old Irish Society* by Mrs. J. R. Green, a volume of studies of Irish civilization before and after the Norman conquest.

The Rev. Arthur Ogle's *The Canon Law in Medieval England: an Examination of William Lyndwood's "Provinciale"* (Murray) is a clear and well-written reply to Professor Maitland and a vindication of the position of Bishop Stubbs as to the relation between the pre-Reformation church in England and the pope.

Professor C. Sanford Terry of Aberdeen University expects to complete early next year a volume entitled *Documents Illustrative of Scottish History, 1603-1707*. Messrs. MacLehose will publish it.

To the volumes of *Rivington's Text-Books of English History* already issued their author, Arthur Hassall, tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, has added *The Restoration and the Revolution* (pp. xx, 220). This series is designed for schools in "which special subjects in English History are taught" and the volumes are supplied with tables of dates and suggestive questions.

Messrs. Chapman and Hall are issuing *History of English Nonconformity, from Wiclif to the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, by Henry W. Clarke, the first volume of which, *From Wiclif to the Restoration*, has already appeared.

The Finances of Ireland before the Union and after: an Historical Study, by the Earl of Dunraven, published by Murray, is a marshalling of facts to show that the smaller island has suffered great financial loss because of the Union.

The Viking Club of London has published a volume of *Caithness and Sutherland Records* and an added volume of its *Old-Lore Miscellany of Orkney, Shetland, Caithness, and Sutherland*.

J. E. Morris and H. Jordan have published with Rutledge, London, *An Introduction to the Study of Local History and Antiquities* (1911, pp. xi, 399).

British government publications: *Calendar of the Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III.*, vol. IV., 1237-1242; *Fine Rolls*, vol. II., Edward I., 1307-1319; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III.*, vol. XII., 1361-1364; *Calendar of the Close Rolls of Edward III.*, vol. XIII., 1369-1374; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry V.*, vol. II.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. J. Turner, *William the Conqueror's March to London in 1066* (*English Historical Review*, April);

C. G. Crump and C. Johnson, *The Powers of Justices of the Peace* (*ibid.*) ; J. M. Thomson, *A Roll of the Scottish Parliament, 1344* (Scottish Historical Review, April) ; G. Constant, *Les Evêques Henriens sous Henri VIII.*, I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April) ; Sir J. B. Paul, *The Post-Reformation Elder* (Scottish Historical Review, April) ; E. I. Carlyle, *Clarendon and the Privy Council, 1660-1667* (English Historical Review, April).

FRANCE

A bulletin of recent works on the economic history and geography of France, by M. J. de Letaconnoux, occupies the chief space in the March-April number of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*.

The house of Hachette has begun the publication of a series of small volumes entitled *L'Histoire par les Contemporains*, in which, under the editorship of competent specialists, important episodes of modern history since the period 1789 will be treated by presentation of the leading documents necessary for their comprehension. Thus we have already *Le Socialisme Français de 1789 à 1848*, ed. Georges and Hubert Bourgin ; *Le Mouvement Romantique*, ed. P. Van Tieghem ; *La Défense Nationale, 1792 to 1795*, ed. Pierre Caron.

Messrs. Picard of Paris have published J. Laurent's *Cartulaires de l'Abbaye de Molesme, ancien Diocèse de Langres, 916-1250*, as tome II. of the *Recueil de Documents sur le Nord de la Bourgogne et le Midi de la Champagne, avec une Introduction Diplomatique, Historique, et Géographique* (1911, pp. xxiv, 740).

During 1911 the *Collection des Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire* was increased by the issue of Victor Martet's *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Architecture et à la Condition des Architectes en France au Moyen Age, XI.-XII. Siècles* (Paris, Picard, pp. lxx, 516).

It has previously been mentioned in these pages that a committee formed by the Société Historique de l'Orne, and upon which Mr. J. LeRoy White represents American interest, has been preparing for the erection of a monument to the memory of Ordericus Vitalis. This monument, erected near the ruins of the abbey of Saint-Evroul, where Ordericus was a monk and where he composed his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, will be dedicated in August of the present year. American subscriptions may be sent to Mr. White, 1 Quai Voltaire, Paris.

Messrs. Holt announce *Social France in the Time of Philip Augustus*, by Achille Luchaire, edited by Louis Halphen, and translated by Professor E. B. Krehbiel, the French edition of which was noticed in this journal some time ago (XV., 361).

Professor Paul Fredericq contributes to the March-April issue of the *Revue Historique* a critical review entitled "Les récents Historiens

Catholiques de l'Inquisition en France". H. Hauser's bulletin on publications in French history in this issue is devoted generally to the modern period.

M. Jean Lemoine has published in the *Revue de Paris* for April under the title "Lettres sur la Cour de Louis XIV." extracts from the gossip but very enlightening correspondence of the Marquis de S. Maurice while representing Savoy in France, 1671-1673. The letters are addressed to the Duke of Savoy and are a continuation of those previously published in the same journal for the years 1667-1670.

The Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Orléanais has published tome XXXIII. of its *Mémoires*. The volume includes an important study in local Old Régime administration by the archivist, Ch. de Beaucorps, entitled *Une Province sous Louis XIV.: l'Administration des Intendants d'Orléans, de Creil, Jubert de Bonville, et de la Bourdonnaye, 1686-1713*.

The "Commission de Recherche et de Publication des Documents relatifs à la Vie Économique de la Révolution" has published (E. Leroux, 1911, pp. 546) a *Recueil des principaux Textes Législatifs et Administratifs concernant la Monnaie et le Papier-monnaie de 1789 à l'An XI*. It is edited by Camille Bloch and its importance is manifest. Only the most important documents are given in full; the rest are represented by brief summaries or extracts, or by title only. The editorial additions are rather scanty and there is no index.

Professor F. Braesch has published through Hachette (1912, pp. 278) the *Procès-verbaux de l'Assemblée Générale de la Section des Postes, 4 décembre 1790-5 septembre 1792*, the editing including introduction, notes, and index. This was one of the 48 sections of Paris during the Revolution and is the only one of whose deliberations the official record survives for this period. The manuscript was discovered in 1891 and is deposited in the archives of the Department of the Seine. Parts of it have been published already in Mellié, *Les Sections de Paris*, and in S. Lacroix's *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, but M. Braesch sets forth good reasons for its republication in extenso.

There has been appearing for some time from the publishing house of Gedovino, Nancy, a series of plates, with explanatory notes, of the uniforms of the First Empire, prepared by Lieutenant E. L. Bucquoy. Sixty groups of eight plates each have been issued; it is estimated that the work (which aims to be exhaustive) will comprise nearly 200 such groups and will contain from 1000 to 1500 plates.

E. Leroux, of Paris, has published, at 100 francs, a volume entitled *Les Médailles Historiques de Napoléon le Grand, Empereur et Roi*, edited by E. Babelon of the Institute. It is announced as the hitherto unpublished text of the *Histoire Métallique de Napoléon*, prepared by the class of history and ancient literature of the Imperial Institute.

Volume VI. of the *Lettres et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1767-1815*, edited by M. Paul le Brethon of the Bibliothèque Nationale, runs from April, 1808, to February, 1809, and throws much new light on Murat's conduct in Spain in 1808 and on his first months in Naples.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has just published tome V. of its great collection of documents on *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871* (G. Ficker), relating to the period from November 6, 1864, to February 27, 1865.

The Société des Recherches Historiques de Vaucluse has begun the publication of a quarterly review entitled *Annales d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin*, published at Avignon, the first issue bearing the date January 15, 1912. It is illustrated with cuts of local historical monuments, and publishes among other things a selection of "Documents sur les Compagnons d'Arts et Métiers à Avignon, XVII^e-XIX^e Siècles".

M. Henry Lehr, "pasteur à Chartres", has published through Fischbacher, Paris, a work entitled *La Réforme et les Églises Réformées dans le Département actuel d'Eure-et-Loir, 1513-1911* (1912, pp. 595). The work has more the aspect of a chronicle than of a history, but will undoubtedly furnish the historian with valuable material. It is accompanied by numerous plans and engravings, by statistical statements and extracts from the sources (there is however no critical bibliography), and by an excellent general map of the department.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Lanson, *Questions diverses sur l'Histoire de l'Esprit Philosophique en France avant 1750* (Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, XIX. 1); A. Aulard, *Carlyle Historien de la Révolution Française* (La Révolution Française, March); P. Gaffarel, *Les Bonaparte à Marseille* (*ibid.*, March-April); R. Guyot, *Le Directoire et Bonaparte* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); L. Radiguet, *L'Acte Additionnel de 1815* (*ibid.*, March).

ITALY

The firm of Loescher and Company in Rome has lately issued *Costituzioni Egidiane dell' Anno 1357*, ed. Pietro Sella, the first issue in a series bearing the general title of *Corpus Statutorum Italicorum*; also volume I. of the *Regestum Senense*, ed. Fedor Schneider, in the series *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*; and the second of two volumes of *Unbekannte Kirchenpolitische Streitschriften*, ed. Richard Scholz (pp. xvi, 256), being Band IX. of the *Bibliothek des Kgl. Preussischen Historischen Instituts in Rom*.

Giuseppe La Mantia, librarian of the Sicilian Society of National History, has published at Palermo (Impr. Gen. d'Affissione e Pubblicità, 1912, pp. 88) a brochure entitled *La Guerra di Sicilia contro gli Angioini negli Anni 1313-1320*. It is accompanied by documents.

There have been printed in Padua for the university a volume of *Atti della Nazione Germanica dei Legisti nello Studio di Padova*, edited by Biagio Brugi, and two volumes of *Atti della Nazione Germanica Artisti nello Studio di Padova*, edited by Antonio Favaro. These are from manuscripts in the university archives. Padua was the favorite Italian university for students from German lands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the chief student associations were those of the *Natio Germanica*, which was later separated into *Legisti* and *Artisti*. The issues are limited to 100 copies each.

M. Campovi has published the twelfth and last volume of the *Epistolario di L. A. Muratori* (Modena, Società Tipogr. Modenese, 1911, pp. 5283-5597). This comprises letters 5663 to 6042, of the years 1749-1750, the last years of Muratori's life. In an appendix the editor has placed a couple of hundred supplementary letters discovered since the starting of the work and a number of undated letters. An index volume is still to be published.

Letters and Recollections of Mazzini (New York, Longmans, pp. xiv, 140), by Mrs. Hamilton King, contains some very characteristic letters and a description of the last imprisonment and the death of Mazzini. The volume has a preface by G. M. Trevelyan.

An English version of the *Memoirs of Francesco Crispi*, the documents collected by Palamenghi-Crispi, has been prepared by Mary Prichard-Agnetti and is issued in London by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.

The *Rivista Storica Italiana* for the first quarter of 1912 contains an interesting review of the scientific work of the R. Diputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie e la Lombardia, from 1885 to 1911. This is the continuation of a similar review published in the same journal by Antoni Manno in 1884, covering the work of the preceding half-century. During the past 27 years there have been published 22 volumes of *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, 6 volumes of the *Campagne di Guerra in Piemonte, 1703-1708*, 3 volumes of the *Biblioteca di Storia Italiana Recente*, and 4 volumes of the *Monumenta Historiae Patriae*.

The provincial Italian monthly journals dealing mainly with the present day but also devoting a large amount of space to the records of the past have of late been increasing rapidly in number. The programme of the review *Piemonte*, founded and edited by Count Barbavara, has been changed in this direction; a similar publication with the title *Torino* has appeared under the direction of Federico Musso; the house of Francesco Vallardi of Milan has begun a new illustrated monthly entitled *La Patria*, devoted to the interest of Italian nationality in and beyond Italy.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Michels, *Elemente zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Imperialismus in Italien* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, March).

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

The Versammlung Deutscher Historiker set for Vienna, September, 1913, has on account of the conflicting meeting of the German jurists been postponed till April, 1913.

The *Revue Historique* for May-June contains general reviews of the recent publications in the history of modern Germany and of Hungary, by Professors Paul Darmstaedter and I. Kont, respectively.

An admirable introduction to the study of German law embracing German legal history has been published by the Library of Congress, a *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Germany*, by Edwin M. Borchard (Washington, 1912, pp. 226).

There has been issued from the house of Böhlau, of Weimar, the first volume of Rudolf Smend's *Das Reichskammergericht*.

Mitteilungen aus der Königlichen Bibliothek, herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung, I. *Briefe Friedrichs des Grossen an Thieriot*, herausgegeben von Emil Jacobs (Berlin, Weidmann), is the first of a series of selections from the manuscripts of the Royal Library. The letters, interesting though not especially enlightening, were written when Frederick was crown prince.

Volume XV. of the *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* (Berlin and Leipzig, Giesecke and Devrient, 1911) is naturally devoted to Frederick the Great as part of the bicentennial celebration. The editor is Paul Seidel and the volume contains essays also by Hintze, Koser, Jany, von Cammerer, von Schroetter, Droysen, Krieger, Schuster, and Noël.

Band V. of Anna von Sydow's *Wilhelm und Caroline von Humboldt in ihren Briefen* deals with "Diplomatische Friedensarbeit, 1815-1817". The 190 letters are the result of Humboldt's absences from his wife on diplomatic missions and bring us to his English residence. Band VI. will come to the conclusion of his state service at the end of 1819 (Berlin, Mittler and Son, 1912, pp. xv, 413).

There has appeared Band II. and last of O. Klein-Hattungen's *Geschichte des Deutschen Liberalismus*, dealing with the period since 1871 (Basel, Fortschritt, 1912, pp. xv, 674).

Volumes I. and II. of the late Professor Georg Jellinek's *Ausgewählte Schriften und Reden* with an introduction by W. Windelband, have been published by Häring, Berlin. There will be a third volume.

There has been issued from the press of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* a *Geschichte der Frankfurter Zeitung* (1911, pp. xvi, 1143).

Recent issues in Schmoller and Sering's *Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen* are *Die Finanzen der Stadt Greifswald zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts und in der Gegenwart*, Heft 161, by Dr.

H. Helfritz, and *Die freien Gewerkschaften in Gesetzgebung und Politik*, Heft 162, by D. Sophie Klärman.

The *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* has published as supplement V. Dr. A. Löwenstein's *Geschichte des Württembergischen Kreditbankwesens, und seiner Beziehungen zu Handel und Industrie*. It deals with the period 1848-1910 (Tübingen, Mohr, 1912, pp. 243).

The *Bericht* for 1911 of the "Kommission für neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs" has been issued, and reports the publication of a volume of *Staatsverträge* for Transylvania, 1526-1600, edited by R. Gooss. The publication of the volume for England and the Netherlands is to begin early in 1912. The volumes on France are delayed through the resignation of Dr. H. Schlitter from the editorship. In the series *Korrespondenzen* W. Bauer will soon complete the publication of the *Korrespondenz Maximilians II.* In the *Geschichte der Oesterreichischen Zentralverwaltung* the publication of sources will be started in the autumn. A double volume of reports on *Adelsarchive* in Bohemia and Moravia will shortly appear in the section *Archivalien zur neueren Geschichte Oesterreichs*.

Cracow, the Royal Capital of Ancient Poland: its History and Antiquities, by Leonard Lepszy and translated by R. Dyboski (Unwin), is an abridgment of a work published by the Cracow Society of Antiquaries in 1904. It is hoped that the abridgment may attract a wider circle of readers to the historical importance of Cracow.

The Historical Commission of the city of Fiume has begun the publication of a bulletin, to comprise extracts from the sources for the history of that city as a part of Italian development.

Tome I. has appeared of what promises to be an important series, the *Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum* (Vienna, A. Holder). It is the first volume of *Epistolae et Acta Jesuitarum Transylvaniae temporibus Principum Báthory, 1571-1613*, covering the years 1571-1583. It is printed in Latin and Hungarian and edited by Dr. A. Veress.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Niese, *Zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens am Hofe Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII. 3); F. Grüner, *Schwäbische Urkunden und Traditionsbücher: ein Beitrag zur Privaturkundenlehre des früheren Mittelalters* (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXXIII. 1); M. Buchner, *Die Entstehung und Ausbildung der Kurfürstenfabel: eine Historiographische Studie* (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXXIII. 1); C. Gebauer, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Französischen Einflusses auf Deutschland seit dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, IX. 4); L. Daville, *Le Développement de la Méthode Historique de Leibniz* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, December); C. Gebauer, *Deutsche Geselligkeit gegen Ende des 18. und zu Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*,

March); F. Rachfahl, *Eugen Richter und der Linksliberalismus im Neuen Reiche* (Zeitschrift für Politik, V. 2, 3); J. S. Schapiro, *Significant Tendencies in German Politics* (Forum, June).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The theological Foundation Teyler of Haarlem has opened a new series of its *Verhandelingen* with the publication of a work by Professor J. W. Pont entitled *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618* (Haarlem, F. Bohn, 1911, pp. xvi, 632). This work has been awarded the prize repeatedly offered by the society. A related publication is that by the Historical Society of Utrecht (series III, no. 20) of *Verslagen van Kerkvisitation in het Bisdom Utrecht uit de XVI^e Eeuw* (Amsterdam, Johannes Müller, 1911, pp. xx, 520), edited by the archivist S. Muller.

The "Prix Quinquennal d'Histoire Générale" has been accorded to Professor F. Cumont for his work in the history of Oriental religions.

The Société Belge de Librairie has just published *Le Mouvement Flamand en Belgique*, by Fernand Daumont. The work deals especially with the origins and elements of this development, the chapters being devoted successively to the racial, pedagogical, scientific, social, juridical, and economic causes.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Höttsch, *Adel und Lehnwesen in Russland und Polen und ihr Verhältnis zur Deutschen Entwicklung* (Historische Zeitschrift, CVIII. 3); F. von Wrangell, *Die Agrare Neugestaltung Russlands* (Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung, und Volkswirtschaft, XXXVI. 1).

THE FAR EAST

The Institute of Historical Compilation, established in connection with the historical department of the Tokyo Imperial University, is continuing publication of volumes in the two series *Dai-nihon-shirō* (Japanese Historical Letters), and *Dai-nihon-Komonjo* (Old Japanese Documents). More than 50 volumes have been already issued. Meanwhile the copying of ancient documents from the Imperial Archives of Nara and from the diaries and records preserved in the palaces of the daimios and in some of the old Buddhist and Shinto temples is being steadily pursued, together with the collecting of historical portraits and maps. Another undertaking in progress, as previously mentioned in these pages, is the publication of diplomatic documents relative to the last period of the Shogunate.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Mr. Jameson, will be in Europe until September 23. In the meantime mail may be addressed "Department of Historical Research" or "American Historical Review", Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. After September 23 the address of both will be 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. Miss Davenport has of late been in Lisbon and Seville, engaged in researches respecting treaties. Volume I. of Professor Andrews's *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain*, the volume dealing with the State Papers, or materials which accumulated in the department of the secretaries of state, is in page-proof and the making of its index is in progress. Mr. David W. Parker's *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives* has gone to the printer.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, volume XXI., part 2, is made up of the report of the last annual meeting, October, 1911. The librarian's report contains a description of the new library building, with an account of the important accessions during the year. The papers printed in extenso are: The Place of New England in the History of Witchcraft, by George L. Burr; The Ruins at Tiahuanaco, Bolivia, by Adolph F. Bandelier; Some Bibliographical Desiderata in American History, by William MacDonald; A Kindlier Light on Early Spanish Rule in America, by Edward H. Thompson; and Asia and America, a posthumous monograph by Dr. Johann Georg Kohl, the cartographer.

In the February number of *Americana* Alice Goddard Waldo concludes her papers on the Continental agents in America in 1776-1777. For the March number Mr. Forrest Morgan writes a biographical appreciation of Jonathan Trumbull, the Revolutionary governor of Connecticut. In this issue appears also an account of the fighting on the Little Big Horn at the time of the Custer massacre. The account was written by Major M. A. Reno, who commanded one of the battalions, and was found among his effects after his death in 1889.

The *Journal of American History*, volume VI., no. 1, includes a document (pp. 14) written by President John Tyler in 1861 containing a plan for the settlement of the controversy between the Northern and Southern states. The second section of this number is devoted to Vermont, apropos of the celebration by Vermont towns of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of their charters.

The initial paper in the December issue of the *Magazine of History* is the account of the battle of Mobile Bay, August 5, 1864, read by the late commander Oliver A. Batcheller, U. S. N., before the Maine com-

mandery of the Loyal Legion. A Naval Incident in the Mediterranean, 1853, by William R. Langdon, relates to the arrest of Martin Koszta at Smyrna by Austrian authorities. William J. Seaver contributes Some Impressions of Abraham Lincoln in 1856, and Edward S. Holden a letter of Washington to General Smallwood, May 26, 1777, giving detailed instructions for the conduct and discipline of troops.

In the March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* is a paper by the late Martin I. J. Griffin concerning the Rev. Peter Helbron, second pastor of the Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia. The article deals principally with events of the year 1796. Among some letters to M. A. Frenaye, financial agent of the diocese of Philadelphia, that from Rev. E. J. Sourin, S. J., written from Frederick, June 18, 1861, is of principal historical interest. A letter (March 22, 1842) from Archbishop Hughes to Governor Seward of New York on the school question is of particular interest because of the effect which Seward's attitude on this question had upon his presidential candidacy.

Dr. C. O. Paullin's series of Albert Shaw Lectures has been published in a substantial volume entitled *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers, 1778-1883* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, pp. 380).

The Part taken by Women in American History, by Mrs. Mary S. C. Logan, with special introductions by Mrs. Donald McLean and others, has been published in Wilmington, Delaware, by the Perry-Nalle Publishing Company.

The Library of Congress has issued a *Select List of References on the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall* (pp. 102), compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer.

Mr. Thomas Willing Balch has printed in the *Revue de Droit International*, and also makes available in separate form (Philadelphia, Allen, Lane, and Scott), an article of fifty pages on the question, *La Baie d'Hudson: Est-elle une Mer Libre ou une Mer Fermée?* in which the history of the law respecting closed seas is discussed, with especial reference to American applications of doctrine. The argument, apparently the first printed paper devoted to the legal status of Hudson Bay, is in favor of maintaining the freedom of its waters.

The corporation of Harvard University has established the Harvard Commission on Western History, on the Charles Elliott Perkins Foundation. The commission consists of Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, chairman, and Messrs. A. C. Coolidge, Horace Dana, Charles G. Dawes, F. A. Delano, G. M. Dodge, Howard Elliott, F. J. Turner, and E. H. Wells. The plan of the commission is to collect all the material possible, printed or manuscript, relating to the history of the West, thus creating in the East a centre of the first importance for the study of the development of the West and of the influence of the East upon that

development. The commission emphasizes the point that it does not propose to compete with western states or institutions for material which is peculiarly suited for preservation by them, but that it desires "type" material and especially such material relating to the West as is to be found in the East. A fuller account of the undertaking, by Professor Turner, is in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for June.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Société des Américanistes of Paris has reprinted from volume VIII. of its *Journal* a brief study by M. Vignaud, *Améric Vespuce: ses Voyages et ses Découvertes devant la Critique*. This work, inspired by the fêtes at Saint Dié of last year, points out that the greater part of the hostile criticisms of Vespuce are quite unfounded, and maintains that the naming of continental America for the Florentine is fully justified by the facts of history.

In a brief contribution by Louis D. Scisco, reprinted from the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, volume V., section 1, entitled "Lescarbot's Baron de Lery" an attempt is made to identify the "Baron de Lery" of Sable Island with Gabriel d'Alegre, baron d'Alegre, and sieur de St. Just, bailiff of Caen. Mr. Scisco points out however that the identification throws no additional light upon the colonizing enterprise attributed to de Lery, the importance of which was probably exaggerated by Lescarbot.

Under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, whose good work for American history has often been mentioned in these pages, the Macmillans have brought out two volumes of the *Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731-1760*, edited by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln. Each volume embraces some 250 letters, mostly of Shirley, illustrating with fullness his career. The second volume of the *Correspondence of Richard Henry Lee* is in the printer's hands.

Dr. Hannis Taylor's various writings ascribing to Pelatiah Webster the main authorship of the Constitution of the United States, arguments which have made more impression upon the general public than upon competent historical scholars, were controverted in a letter by Mr. Gaillard Hunt of the Library of Congress, first published in the *Nation* on December 28, 1911. This has now been printed as *Senate Document No. 402*, 62 Cong., 2 sess.

Professor I. J. Cox of the University of Cincinnati gave at the Johns Hopkins University, in April and May, the Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, his subject being the West Florida Controversy, which he treated for the whole period from 1783 to 1819, but mostly for the years 1803-1813. The lectures will ultimately be printed. Mr. Cox is now making further researches in Spain.

The Conquest of the Coeur d'Alènes, Spokanes, and Palouses: the Expeditions of Colonels E. J. Steptoe and George Wright against the "Northern Indians" in 1858, by B. F. Manring, has been published in Spokane by the Inland Printing Company.

General Joseph Wheeler and the Army of Tennessee, by J. W. Du Bose, has been published by Neale. One chapter is devoted to the career of General Wheeler before the outbreak of the war.

Small, Maynard, and Company have brought out, under the title *A Chautauqua Boy in '61 and afterwards*, the reminiscences of David B. Parker, who was superintendent of mails and despatch-bearer of the Army of the Potomac, as special agent of the Post Office Department reorganized the postal service in Virginia in the Reconstruction period, and from 1876 to 1883 was at the head of the postal secret service. The book contains recollections of many prominent men of the time and many narratives of interest. It is edited by Torrance Parker and contains an introduction by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart.

Harper and Brothers have brought out *The "Monitor" and the "Merrimac": both Sides of the Story*, as told by J. L. Worden and other officers who took part in the battle.

The January-March issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is entirely occupied by the journal of Miss Susan Walker (March 3 to June 6, 1862), kept during her service at Beaufort, South Carolina, in connection with the government's experiment in managing the cotton plantations in that region, which had been deserted by their owners when Port Royal was captured by the Federals. The journal, though brief, throws light on conditions among the negroes, on the methods of the plantation experiment, and in some measure upon the educational efforts conducted by several societies.

Reminiscences of the Civil War (pp. 160), by Emma C. R. Macon and Reuben C. Macon, is privately printed. Mrs. Macon's recollections occupy the principal part of the book and pertain to events about Winchester, Virginia. Mr. Macon, who was adjutant of the Thirteenth Virginia Infantry, sketches briefly his career in the army.

It is announced that Mr. James Schouler is engaged upon the seventh volume of his *History of the United States under the Constitution*. The volume will treat of the Reconstruction period.

Mrs. Anna M. Vilas has printed at Madison, for private distribution, a volume of *Selected Addresses and Orations of William F. Vilas*, successively postmaster-general and secretary of the interior in President Cleveland's Cabinet, and subsequently United States senator from Wisconsin. Some of the more important addresses presented in the volume are: an address before the law class at the University of Wisconsin in

June, 1876; an address before the Society of the Army of the Tennessee in 1878; an oration on General Grant, delivered before the same society in 1879; an oration on Andrew Jackson in 1882; a Decoration Day address at the New York Academy of Music, 1886; and an address in the United States Senate, April 29, 1897, on the presentation of the statue of Père Marquette.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Bulletin no. 3 of the departments of history and of political science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, is *The Status of Women in New England and New France* (pp. 16), by James Douglas. The study is concerned with conditions in the seventeenth century.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* is publishing the diary of Jeremiah Weare, jr., of York, Maine (1786-1823).

The governor and council of the state of Maine have accepted from Miss Elizabeth T. Thornton of Lexington, Massachusetts, a collection of manuscripts gathered by her father, John Wingate Thornton, and his grandfather, Thomas Gilbert Thornton, of Saco, Maine, the whole relating to public and private matters of interest in Maine during the colonial period; the same to be deposited with the secretary of state or state librarian, and designated as the John Wingate Thornton papers.

The principal contents of the February fascicle of the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* are a paper by Professor Kittredge on Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather, these being a series of tracts and letters on smallpox and inoculation; two letters of Samuel A. Otis to James Warren (November 27, 1787) and Henry Warren (February 5, 1809), respectively; correspondence of Dr. John C. Warren, Josiah Quincy, Franklin Bache, and others (1826-1827), respecting the raising of funds for erecting a monument in Boston to the parents of Benjamin Franklin; and depositions in the case of Edward Ashley (1631), a Penobscot trader, who was arraigned for the illegal sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians. In the March issue is a paper by Mr. Richard Henry Dana on the Trent Affair: an Aftermath, in which he takes issue with the views of Mr. Charles Francis Adams; this is followed by a note from Mr. Adams in reply.

The *Massachusetts Magazine* for October contains an account, by F. A. Gardner, of Colonel Samuel Gerrish's regiment, one of the early Revolutionary regiments of Massachusetts. Annexed are biographical sketches of the officers connected with the regiment.

Bulletin no. 2 of the Newport Historical Society comprises the second of Mr. Hamilton B. Tompkins's papers on the Newport county lotteries.

The Connecticut Historical Society has come into possession of an original manuscript letter from Sir Richard Saltonstall to Governor John

Winthrop of Connecticut, dated March 30, 1636. The letter relates to a controversy concerning the settlement of the previous year at Windsor, Connecticut.

A preliminary report by Mr. Thomas C. Quinn, chief of the Public Records Division of the State Education Department of New York, bears the title *Condition of the Public Records in the State of New York*. It is a summary of the reports received from counties, towns, and villages respecting the state of the local records, especially as regards provision for their safe-keeping, and demonstrates the necessity of further legislation in the matter. Such legislation Mr. Quinn proposes to ask for in 1913, after a more thorough study of the situation in each locality has been made.

A History of the Forty-Fourth Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry, by Captain E. A. Nash, has been brought out in Chicago, by the publication committee of the regiment.

On May 20 the Buffalo Historical Society observed its fiftieth anniversary with exercises which included the unveiling of bronze tablets to Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland and addresses by Frank M. Hollister and John G. Milburn. A full report of the proceedings will appear in volume XVI. of the *Publications*, to be issued during the present year.

The records of the Kingwood Monthly Meeting of Friends in Hunterdon County, New Jersey, have been carefully compiled from the minutes, and other manuscripts, beginning in 1744, by Professor James W. Moore, of Lafayette College, and published by H. E. Deats, of Flemington, New Jersey (pp. 42).

The *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* for January prints "The American Journey of George Fox, 1671-1673" (pp. 48), from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library. In the April issue is printed a letter of James Logan to William Penn relating to affairs in Pennsylvania (1708), with a preface by Amelia M. Gummere.

Among the contents of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for March are some letters of Rev. Jonathan Boucher, written from Port Royal, Virginia, in 1759 and 1760. The reprint of Daniel Dulany's *Considerations* is concluded, and the Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's Parish, are continued.

The eighth *Annual Report* of the state librarian of Virginia notes the acquisition of Patrick Henry's fee book, 1770-1795, and more than fifty mercantile account books of William Allason, head of a firm of Scottish merchants of Falmouth, Virginia, 1760-1780. As an appendix to the report, Mr. H. J. Eckenrode, head of the Department of Archives and History, presents (pp. 488) a List of the Revolutionary Soldiers of Virginia, carefully compiled from the most various sources and with

references to the records from which each of the 35,000 or 36,000 entries has been obtained.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April prints (pp. 158-178) two hitherto unpublished tobacco acts, those of 1723 and 1729 mentioned in Hening's *Statutes*, vol. IV., pp. 134, 197. In a group of documents relating to the years 1671-1673 are found a letter from Thomas Ludwell to the Committee on Trade and Plantations, one from Sir Henry Chicheley to Sir Thomas Chicheley, and reports by the Virginia council to the Privy Council of an attack upon the Virginia fleet by Dutch men-of-war in July, 1672. The several documentary series are continued.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly* for April reprints (pp. 226-262) from the *Virginia Gazette* of July 29 and September 30, 1773, some letters (July 16 and 20, and September 22) of Robert C. Nicholas, treasurer of Virginia, relating to the condition of the treasury and to the paper money situation. There is an introductory statement by the editor of the *Quarterly*.

The *Speeches and Orations of John Warwick Daniel*, late senator from Virginia, have been compiled by his son, Edward M. Daniel, and published by the J. P. Bell Company of Lynchburg (pp. 787).

The memorial address on the life and services of George Davis, senator from North Carolina in the Confederate Congress and afterward attorney-general of the Confederacy, which was delivered by Judge H. G. Connor at the unveiling at Wilmington on April 11, 1911, of a statue to Davis, has been published by the Cape Fear Chapter, no. 3, of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (pp. 54).

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for January contains an account of Winyah Barony, being the sixth of Mr. Henry A. M. Smith's articles on the baronies of South Carolina. In this issue of the *Magazine* appears a first installment of the order book of John Faucheraud Grimké, 1778-1780, while the contributions of Mr. Salley and Miss Webber, hitherto mentioned, are continued.

The Mississippi State Department of Archives and History has received by gift from Miss Alice Quitman Lovell of Monmouth, Natchez, a large collection of miscellaneous papers and mementoes from the collections of Mrs. Austin Davis, relating to various periods of the state's history, all of which will be classified and calendared. In addition, numerous gifts of original manuscript material, such as letters and diaries dealing with local Confederate history and including letters of President Davis, have been received, and especially seven volumes of transcripts from the Archives of the Colonies (series C 13, Correspondance-Générale, Louisiane) in Paris.

The *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* for April contains a paper on the Diplomatic Relations of Texas and the United

States, 1839-1843, by T. M. Marshall; also the second installment of Correspondence from the British Archives concerning Texas, 1837-1846, edited by Professor E. D. Adams. The correspondence here printed covers the period May to November, 1842.

The fifth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Bloomington, Indiana, May 23, 24, and 25, under the auspices of Indiana University. Following are the more noteworthy papers read at the sessions: The Supreme Court and Unconstitutional Legislation; Historical Origins, an address by the president, Professor A. C. McLaughlin; The Settlement of the John Randolph Slaves in Ohio, by Professor Henry N. Sherwood; The Quakers in the Old Northwest, by Professor Harlow Lindley; The Western Reserve in the Anti-slavery Movement, 1840-1860, by Professor Karl F. Geiser; The Influence of the Mississippi Valley in the Movement for Fifty-four Forty or Fight, by Hon. Daniel Wait Howe; Our New Northwest, by Professor Orin Grant Libby; De Soto's Line of March from the Viewpoint of an Ethnologist, by Mr. John R. Swanton; The Disintegration and Organization of Political Parties in Iowa, 1852-1860, by Professor Louis Pelzer; Attitude of the Western Whigs toward the Convention System, by Mr. Charles Manfred Thompson; Factors Influencing the Development of American Education before the Revolution, by Professor M. W. Jernegan; The Truth about the Battle of Lake Erie, by Dr. Paul Leland Haworth.

Mr. Solon J. Buck's paper entitled *Some Materials for the Social History of the Mississippi Valley in the Nineteenth Century* has been reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1910-1911.

The Wisconsin State Historical Society has issued as separate no. 143, *Some Aspects of Politics in the Middle West, 1860-1872*, by Professor Evarts B. Greene, first published in the *Proceedings* of the society for 1911.

The January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains volume II. of the Moravian Records, edited by Professor A. B. Hulbert and Rev. W. N. Schwarze. The records consist of the diary of David Zeisberger's journey to the Ohio, September 20 to November 16, 1767, and the diary of a journey made by David Zeisberger and Gottlob Zensman to Goschgoschink on the Ohio in 1768.

Professor James A. Woodburn, writing for the March issue of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* concerning the Indiana Centennial of 1916, presents an earnest plea for a state library and historical building.

The initial article in the April number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is an address entitled Illinois, delivered by Mr. Clark E. Carr on December 3, 1911, before the faculty and students of the University of Illinois. The paper entitled Cairo in 1841, by Mr.

John M. Lansden, is concerned principally with the projects of Darius M. Holbrook in connection with the building of Cairo and with the characterizations of the town by Charles Dickens in his *American Notes*. Under the caption The Indian War appear two statements by William Orr, a volunteer in the Black Hawk War, concerning the conduct of the war. They are in the form of letters to the editor of the *Illinois Advocate*, John York Lawyer, but were not published at the time. The number contains also a sketch of the Du Bois family, pioneers of Indiana and Illinois, by Hellen L. Allen.

Chicago: its History and Builders, by J. Seymour Currey, has been brought out by the S. J. Clarke Publishing Company in five volumes, the last two being devoted to biographies. The work is comprehensive, written in an interesting style, and is illustrated with an abundance of old views and sketches that considerably enhance its value.

The Keweenaw Historical Society was organized on June 5 at Houghton, Michigan. The society's field extends over the Keweenaw peninsula and the adjacent "copper country". Its purpose is the collection and preservation of historical material relative to this region as a basis for study and for possible publication. The secretary of the society is Mr. J. A. Doelle, Houghton, Michigan.

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has brought out a second edition of his *Building of Detroit* (pp. 44). There are several plans and maps.

In March a "conference seminar" on the scope and methods of research in Iowa history was held at Iowa City under the auspices of the Iowa Historical Society. During the present summer a group of about ten men will carry on investigation in the general field of Iowa history, under the direction of Professor Shambaugh, superintendent of the state society. The results of their work will eventually be published. The society announces for publication in the near future, a history of the Hollanders in Iowa, by Mr. Jacob Van der Zee.

Paul Walton Black publishes in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (pp. 151-254) an account of the lynchings in Iowa, beginning with the earliest recorded instances and bringing the record down to 1908. Some effort is made to classify the types of lynchings and to study the causes. The material has been obtained through personal correspondence as well as from newspapers and other printed sources.

Mr. C. C. Stiles contributes to the April number of the *Annals of Iowa* an account of the boundary line run in accordance with the treaty of October 11, 1842, with the Sac and Fox Indians. The article, which bears the caption, The White Breast Boundary Line, includes the field-notes of the surveyor, George W. Harrison. Mr. Johnson Brigham relates the proceedings in the United States Senate in December, 1856, and January, 1857, concerning the validity of the election of James

Harlan of Iowa, noting in particular how Senator Toombs of Georgia championed the cause of Senator Harlan. Rev. John F. Kempker gives some account of Catholic Missionaries in the early and in the territorial days of Iowa.

The State Historical Society of Missouri recently obtained a number of volumes of manuscript records of Cooper County, Missouri, commencing with 1819, eight volumes of assessment lists in the fifties, two books of the detailed census report of 1850 of that county, more than 700 oaths of loyalty which were required under the Gamble Convention and the Drake Constitution, and various other manuscript records of interest.

The *Missouri Historical Review* for April contains an account of the Shelby raid in Missouri in 1863, by Captain George S. Grover, a participant in the fights on the Union side; an account of The Battle of Lexington as seen by a Woman, by Mrs. Susan A. Arnold McCausland; and a short study of Daniel Boone, by T. J. Bryant.

Professor F. L. Paxson's paper on *The Admission of the "Omnibus States", 1889-1890*, which is printed in the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1911, has been issued as a separate.

The Kansas Historical Society reports that the new memorial building in which it will be housed is rapidly nearing completion. Among recent accessions to the society's collections may be noted some five hundred photographs of early Kansas, the diary of C. B. Whitney, a scout during the Indian wars of 1868, and the journal of the relief committee organized to aid the sufferers from the drought of 1860-1861.

Among the manuscripts recently acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society should be noted a journal kept by Joseph Francisco while in the Philippines in 1772.

Vigilante Days and Ways: the Pioneers of the Rockies, by N. P. Langford (McClurg), is concerned particularly with pioneer conditions in Montana and Idaho.

Mr. T. C. Elliott contributes to the September issue of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* an interesting article on David Thompson, Pathfinder, and the Columbia River, and Mr. Frederick V. Holman sets forth "Some of the important Results from the Expeditions of John Jacob Astor to and from the Oregon Country". In "A Hero of Old Astoria" Mrs. Eva Emery Dye tells briefly the story of Randal McDonald, who ran away to Japan in 1848 and thereby gave impetus to the Perry Expedition. The *Quarterly* reprints from the *Congressional Record* of July 15, 1911, the report on the territory of Oregon made by Charles Wilkes, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842. This issue also contains the fourth of Mr. W. C. Woodward's papers on the Rise and Early History of Political Parties in Oregon, which deals with the period 1857-1859.

Fifty Years in Oregon: Experiences, Observations, and Commentaries upon Men, Measures, and Customs in Pioneer Days and Later Times is by Theodore T. Geer, governor of Oregon, 1899-1903 (New York, Neale).

"Jesse Applegate, Pioneer and State Builder" (pp. 13), by Joseph Schafer, is the February number of the *University of Oregon Bulletin*.

Volume II., part 1, of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt's *Missions and Missionaries of California* has appeared (San Francisco, J. H. Barry and Company).

Mr. Zoeth S. Eldredge of San Francisco is about to bring out, publishing them himself, two volumes entitled *The Beginnings of San Francisco*, the fruit of several years of research in Spanish and other archives. One volume will consist of narrative, the other of notes.

Houghton Mifflin Company have brought out a volume entitled *The Contest for California in 1861: how Colonel E. D. Baker saved the Pacific States to the Union*, by E. R. Kennedy. The book includes a biography of Colonel Baker, who was a member of Congress from Illinois, served through the Mexican War, was elected to the United States Senate from Oregon in 1860, and resigned his seat to take command of a regiment of volunteers.

The Archives of the Dominion of Canada have been transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of State, and the archivist, Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, C.M.G., has been given the rank of a deputy minister.

The Independence of Chile, by A. Stuart M. Chisholm (Sherman, French, and Company), gives especial attention to that period of confusion in Spanish affairs, beginning in 1788, which set the stage for the South American revolts.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. S. Corwin, *National Power and State Interposition, 1787-1861* (Michigan Law Review, May); O. G. Libby, *A Sketch of the Early Political Parties of the United States* (Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, April); H. G. Connor, *James Iredell: Lawyer, Statesman, Judge* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, January); James Barnes, *The Spirit of 1812* (Harper's, May); S. M. Arthur, *Early Steamboat Days* (Scribner's, March); R. M. Hughes, *Some War Letters of General Joseph E. Johnston* (Journal of the Military Service Institution, May-June); Morris Schaff, *The Sunset of the Confederacy*, II., III. (Atlantic Monthly, April, May); J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton, *The Elections of 1872 in North Carolina* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); C. W. Collins, jr., *The Failure of the Fourteenth Amendment as a Constitutional Ideal* (ibid.); W. S. Schley, *Admiral Schley's Own Story*, IV., V., VI. (Cosmopolitan, March, April, May); C. O. Paullin, *The American*

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CORRIGENDA

In our last issue, page 460, line 24, in the account of Professor Barker's Buffalo paper, the date should be August, 1835, instead of 1833.

In Mr. Charles Francis Adams's article on the Trent Affair, at the beginning of the third paragraph on page 556, the reading should have been, "As was then alleged, it was regarded in America as having been, on the part of Great Britain, a case of uncalled for, unnecessarily offensive braggadocio", etc.

On page 690, line 3, the reading should be not Miss, but Mr. Selatie E. Stout.

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